

A Genuine and Faithfull
ACCOUNT of the SUFFERINGS
OF

William Houlbrook,
BLACK-SMITH of Marlborough, in
the Reign of King CHARLES the First

S H E W I N G

The Artifices and treacherous Insinuations of
Cornet JOYCE, TYNN, and others of that
horrid Crew, how he was ensnar'd into all
the Dangers and Difficulties those Regicides
could invent.

Together with his Commitment to *Newgate*,
where he was inhumanly treated, and loaded
with Irons: Also his several Examinations
before BRADSHAW and his execrable Com-
panions: With other Particulars in Prose
and Verse.

*The Whole written by himself during his
Confinement.*

To which is added

A Learned SPEECH made by a Worthy
Member of Parliament in the House of Com-
mons, concerning the other House, of that
Critical and Dangerous Year 1649.

L O N D O N :

Printed for R. Montague, at the Book Ware-
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A Genuine and Faithful
 ACCOUNT OF THE SUFFERINGS
 OF
 WILLIAM HOULBROOK

BY A. C. SMITH of Newbury, in
 the Reign of King Charles the First

AND HIS WIFE

The Author's intention in this
 Court of Justice, and others of that
 Court, was to show the
 of the Judges, who were
 together with his wife, to
 where he was in prison, and loaded
 with chains. Also his several
 examinations. And his several
 before the Court, and his several
 reasons: which other
 and this



The first edition of this
 Confession

To which is added
 A learned REECH made by a worthy
 Minister of Religion in the Court of
 Honour, concerning the other parts of that
 Confession and Dignities

LONDON:
 Printed for A. Blagden, at the Book Warehouse
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Manuscript

P R E F A C E .

EPISTLE to the

R E A D E R .

CHRISTIAN Reader ;
it was not my Thoughts
ever to appear in Print, nor
do I now, in any Vain-glory,
expect any Praise from Men ;
but being moved by some
Friends, and having most
Part of it written by me
ever since I was in Newgate,
and having Witnesses in the
Country who knew how it
was acted ; I have thought
good not to pass it over with
Silence :

P R E F A C E.

Silence : For it is not for any private Ends that I do it, but that the World may know what bloody Men we have had in this Nation, that went under the Notion of Religious Men, when indeed they were Devils ; as witness that blasphemous Petition of Praise-God Barebones, for which he had the Thanks of the Devil's Imps, to have Church and State ruined ; but there be many other Presidents of as great a Nature, and therefore I shall not name them here ; but we have had such wicked Governments that

P R E F A C E.

no Man did dare to speak his Conscience. Seeing now it is God's Love and Mercy to settle us in our ancient Form of Government, of King, Lords and Commons, let us submit thereto, according to our Duty: For we all see the Danger in rejecting the Lord's Anointed, and to what great Extremities these poor Nations were brought by endeavouring to ruin one another: And I desire all Persons who shall find Fault with me, to examine their own selves, and not to look too much abroad, and all People to obey their
their

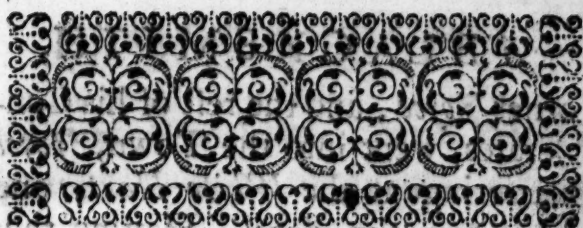
P R E F A C E

*their King, and all Soldiers
to remember our Saviour
Christ's Commands, and in
their doing so, we shall live
a peaceable and quiet Life,
according to God's Command,
and shall never be brought
under such bloody Men again.
So leaving thee to the ensuing
Dicourse, I rest,*

Thine to serve thee,

William Houlbrook.





A
BLACKSMITH,
AND NO
JESUIT:
OR, THE
SMITH OF MARLBOROUGH.



HE Twenty Eighth of
July, 1659. Cornet *Joyce*,
Cornet *Smale*, Quarter-
Master *Tynne*, Mr. *Wal-*
dron, and Corporal *Carter*, came to
Marlborough with about twenty Sol-
diers; which Soldiers quarter'd at
the *George* at the Town's End; but
B Corner

2 A BLACK-SMITH,

Cornet *Joyce*, and the rest of his Confederates, went into the Town, *Joyce* Quartering at the *White Hart*, and the rest at the *Angel*: Having thus dispersed themselves, I was sent for to shoe Cornet *Smale's* Horse, which I did. Being called into the Chamber to receive my Due, I went, not suspecting any Design; and after Payment, *Tynne*, *Waldron*, *Smale*, and *Carter*, were exceeding inquisitive concerning News: I told them, I could not inform them of any, being from home, till last Night, at *Sarum* Assizes: What News there? I made answer, great Complaints of bad Trading, and great Taxes, and the Poor ready to famish.

Tynne. Is it so? Now thou shalt see honest Smith, that in a short time things will alter, for thou shalt see the *Rump* turned out.

Smith. Say you so Sir? truly I am very glad of that, for then I shall have some Work, and likewise all other Tradesmen.

Smale:

Smale. Truly honest Smith, I see thou art right, for I have lost all I had for being for the King.

Smith. Sir, be of good Comfort, for a good Conscience goes beyond Riches, and no doubt but God will raise you up again.

Then they ask'd me what Friends the King had thereabouts ; I said, there are many would be glad to see better Times.

Tynne. But, honest Smith, do'st thou know of any who have sent any Thing to carry on our King's Interest? Thou needs not be afraid, for we are as faithful true Subjects to the King as any Person can be. Then they all said, we have lost our Estates, we have ventured our Lives, and therefore thou needest not doubt or fear us.

Smith. No for my part I have no Cause. Then they called for Beer, and did drink the Kings Health, and I pledged them, then they said the *Rump* were Cheaters ; and my An-

4 ABLACK-SMITH,

swer was: They said true enough, for they had not only cheated the King of his Right, but many thousands more.

Tynne. It is very true indeed, for these Members which sit now at *Westminster* have cheated me of a brave Estate.

Waldron. And so also have they me of mine; and I would not for Forty Pounds but that I had known thee, for thou mayest do us a great deal of Good, to help on our Interest. My answer was, that any Good I could do, I would do with all my Heart.

Smale. Well, honest Smith, tell what Persons be hereabouts will do us any Good, for our Desire is not to be governed by this *Rump* all the Dayes of our Lives.

Smith. You speak well Sir, for they did pretend the Bishops were Lazy and would preach but once a Year; and *Hazelrig* and the rest have gained their Estates, and they will not preach

and no JESUIT. 5

preach at all. Self-interest had been the Cause of all Divisions; for there is no more Religion in any of them than is in a Wigeon. Then one of them went out of the Room, and called *Tynne* out after him, and left only Cornet *Smale* with me.

Smale. Honest Smith, what do you think of Captain *Burges*, and Mr. *Thomas Baly*?

Smith. They are very honest Gentlemen, and would be glad to see better Times. But Sir, did you never hear the Letter which came from Hell to this Parliament, otherwise called the *Rump*?

Smale. No, pray tell us what it was.

Smith. It was directed, To our Right and Trusty, Well-beloved Members, now sitting at our House at *Westminster*; or, in their Absence, To our good Promoters of our Good Old Cause.

The Contents follow.

B 3

Right

6 A BLACK-SMITH,

Right Dear and Well-beloved,

Whereas you, according to the Trust which we have reposed in you, have gone on with the Work of Reformation. and Desolation of all our good People of England, we return you Thanks hoping you will persevere so to the End; And our Desire is, that you will send as few to Heaven of those you murder as you can; for we must give you a Hint of your former Mistakes in Charles, Love, and Hewit, cum multis aliis, (Here you must understand the Devil mistakes, in speaking Latin to such as cannot understand English.) And we would not have you cloy us with so many stinking Lobsters, I mean your Red-Coats; for if we shall think it convenient to continue you any longer on Earth, we shall come and keep our Court amongst you at White-Hall; therefore we would not have you sell it, nor yet Somerset-House; it may be thought meet, if you sit long, to make it one of our Queen's Palaces.

Dated

and no JESUIT. 7

Dated at the *Stygian Lake*,
In the Infernal Shades. *Pluto,*

This I told them, and many other Things which made them very merry ; and all this Time they called for Beer, and when one had drank to me, then another did begin ; so they kept me drinking till Ten o'Clock that Night, and they did endeavour to keep all out of the Room, Tapster and Chamberlain, because they should not hear what they did say unto me. Then one of them went to Cornet *Joyce* at the *White-Hart*, and told him that they had got a Black-Smith at their Inn, who would do them a great deal of Good, and wished him to deal warily with me ; for they could do no Good upon me, if he would but try me they knew it would be worth their labour in coming, so he promised them in the Morning he would attempt what they desired. All this was done unknown to me : And all this I was told by the Chamberlain

8 A BLACK-SMITH,

berlain afterwards. Having proceeded thus far, and it being late, they began to prepare for Bed, so away came I home, and told my Mother and a Neighbour what had passed. The next Morning Cornet *Joyce* did send for me to come and Shoe his Horse, and I went; but it was as a Bird to the Snare, by the Cunning of the Fowler. As soon as I came to the *Hart*, he was standing at the Stable Door, and was cloathed like a Farmer, and so I thought him to be; and he desired me to Nail his Horse, which I did, and he gave me Sixpence for my Labour. No Sir, this is too much, it is not said he, for thou dost deserve it, for I perceive that thou art a good Workman.

Joyce. Welcome honest Smith, go up into my Chamber, and I will make thee drink into the bargain.

I being come into the Chamber, *Joyce* called for a Pint of White-wine and Sugar, and some Tobacco
and

and Pipes, and caused me to sit down with him, and drank to me.

Joyce. Come honest Smith, here is a Health to the King [and threw his Hat under the Board.]

[Seeing that, I plucked off my Hat also, and said with all my Heart; and pledged him.]

Joyce. Come honest Heart, as a Comfort to thee, I'll tell thee News, if thou dost not know of it already.

Smith. What is that Sir, I pray?

Joyce. I will tell thee, there is to be this Day Sev'night, a Rendezvous of about ten thousand Men at the Forrest of *Dean*, for the King, didst not hear of it?

Smith. No indeed Sir, not I; I never heard of any such Thing.

Joyce. It is very true; for a Friend of mine at *London* hath sent down 50000 *l.* into the *West*, and ten thousand Cases of Pistols to carry on my Master's Interest; how thinkest thou of that, honest Smith?

Smith.

10 A BLACK-SMITH,

Smith. Very well ; God prosper you. I am glad to hear such News ; for God knows Sir, I should be willing to venture my Life for the King, so I might do him any Service.

Joyce. It is a sad Thing for a Man to be banish'd from his Right, and for seeking after it to be proclaim'd a Traitor by those who are Traitors themselves, and Murderers too.

Then he shew'd me the King's Commission, telling me that the King had given him Power to raise Forces for him, and I did read his Commission, and there was the Broad Seal on it, signed *Charles Rex*. Having laid this as a Foundation to the Mischiefs intended, he proceeds to ask of me many Questions ; first about Captain *Burges*.

Joyce. Dost thou think that Captain *Burges* is right for us ?

Smith. Pray Sir do not question that, for he is a very honest godly Man ; and I am sure he is willing to have a Government settled, and not
be

and no JESUIT. 11

be governed by the Fag-end of the Nation as we are now, the more is the Pity.

Joyce. I believe he is honest, because he has not raised his Troop all this while ; but do'st hear honest Heart ? Do'st know of any who have given any Money or Horses to carry on our Master's Interest ?

Smith. No indeed, Sir, I do not know of any that have.

Joyce. But do'st know of any who will ?

Smith. Yes, there are as honest Men hereabouts as any in the Land.

Joyce. What do'st think of Lord Seymour ?

Smith. He is a gallant noble and worthy Person.

Joyce. But do'st hear, honest Heart ? Do'st know of any Interest which he has carried on for my Master ?

Smith. No indeed Sir ; I do not know of any Interest wherein he has engaged himself in Reference to the King.

Joyce.

12 A BLACK-SMITH,

Joyce. But do'st think if we should make Trial of him to aid and assist my Master, that he would be willing ? For, if we should take away Horses by Force, we shall lose the Good will of the Country ; therefore if we can gain such Men as he whereby to carry on our Design without Oppression, we shall be in a more likely Way to prosper

Smith. Truly, Sir, you may make Trial and see ; But he lives very privately ; for they have been pulled and baited up and down ; so that I think they will have but small Stomach to meddle any more, unless they see some fair Opportunity.

Joyce. Well Smith ; what, do'st thou know my Lord Marquisse ? what do'st thou conceive of him ?

Smith. Truly, a noble Lord.

Joyce. Do'st thou know of any Interest he has carried on for my Master ?

Smith. No indeed, Sir, I do not know of any.

Joyce.

and no JESUIT. 13

Joyce. Dost think that Captain *Burges* doth carry on any Design for him?

Smith. No indeed, Sir, I do not know any of them who carry on any Design for him; but I conceive they are all his good Friends.

Joyce. Dost think that the Lord *Marquisse* will do my Master any Good, to let me have any Money, or Horses? for that as we do, it must be done before the *Militia* be raised, or else we shall be disappointed.

Smith. You may go and try, Sir; for if you go to him, I believe he will do what may be done with the Safety of his Life and Estate.

Joyce. But, honest *Smith*, if thou wilt go and carry these Letters to those Men, thou shalt be well paid; which Letters are in Number four; one for the Lord *Marquisse*, another for Lord *Seymour*, one to the High-Sheriff, and the other to Mr. *Webb* of *Ogbourn*, a Minister.

C

Smith.

14 A BLACK-SMITH,

Smith. I cannot go, to-morrow being *Saturday*, and our Market-day, which requires my being at home; therefore I pray go your self.

Joyce. Honest *Smith*, what thinkest thou of Mr. *Byfield*, Mr. *Proffit* Dr. *Chambers*.

Smith. Truly they are honest true Hearts, and would be glad to see better Times.

Joyce. Dost think we may trust these *Presbyterians*? for thou knowest they have been false to my Master's Father.

Smith. Pray Sir, do not Question them; there were some, indeed, who were not right; but those who were so, have suffered deeply for it: For *Quakers*, and *Anabaptists*, and others of the *Fanatick* sort, have been so violent against them, as to pull them out of the Pulpits, and cast Dirt in their Faces; as that now they will prize a good King when it is God's Will to send him.

Joyce.

Joyce. But dost hear, Smith? Where is your meeting Place?

Smith. At Mr. *Thomas Baylie's*.

Joyce. What is Mr. *Baylie*?

Smith. An honest Royal Heart.

Joyce. But if we should speak with him, he having no Horses, will be useless in this Matter.

Smith. But, Sir, Mr. *Byfield* of *Collingbourn* has Two, he may have One of them.

Joyce. Well, honest Smith, what Horse was that which the Duke of *Buckingham* bought here?

Smith. A very good Horse indeed Sir.

Joyce. Dost hear he is going to carry on our Master's Design?

Smith. No indeed, Sir, I do not hear so; but he bought one or two Horses by the Way, and one there; and said, he would buy some more if he could light upon them worth Money, and therefore it may be likely enough.

Joyce.

16 A BLACK-SMITH,

Joyce. Well, honest Smith, the Lord *Fairfax* is to be General of all these Forces which are raising now.

Smith. I am very glad of that indeed, Sir, for he is very well beloved in the Army; if he could have had his Will, our King had never been be-headed.

Joyce. Thou say'st right, honest Smith; but dost hear no Reports of it whether it is so or no?

Smith. No verily, Sir; I did never hear of it till now.

Joyce. But do'st hear, Smith; do'st know of any who are to carry on my Master's Design; If thou do'st know do so much as tell me, for I shall be as true as thine own Heart.

Smith. There are many true Royal Hearts gone down towards *Bath*.

Joyce. Who in particular, honest Smith?

Smith. One of them is of *London*, one Mr. *Maskell*.

Joyce. And how can'st tell, honest Smith?

Smith.

and no JESUIT. 77

Smith. Why, he had some Discourse with me?

Joyce. What Discourse was it you had?

Smith. He said, Sir, that there was an Interest carrying on, and he did hope I would Fight for my Country as well as the rest.

Joyce. MO! I do know him for he is an honest Blade! - a good Number of such Men would do well; do't know of any more?

Smith. No indeed, Sir.

Joyce. What Company had he with him here?

Smith. Why, Sir, he had two or three with him.

Joyce. What were they?

Smith. One of them hath been a Prisoner, and *Thurlo*, that wicked Fellow would not suffer him to have the Use of Pen, Ink, and Paper; but he said, he should be even with him; he is as honest a Gentleman as you ever came near, Sir.

48 A BLACK-SMITH,

Joyce. There is no Doubt of that ; for none but honest Men do carry on my Master's Interest ; and there is no Doubt, that if ever my Master, King Charles, shall come, he is so Royal a Master, that he will reward all those who are true and faithful to him : For my Part, honest Smith, I have lost all for being faithful to my Master ; for truly, if I had known of any Interest carried on, I should have told them of it : But do'st know Mr Bond of Ogbourn?

Smith. Yes very well, Sir.

Joyce. When did he come out of France from my Master?

Smith. I cannot tell, Sir, whether he was ever with the King or no ; or whether he be at home ; but I am certain he is as honest a true Heart for the King, as any in these Parts.

Joyce. Do you know Master Parrom?

Smith. Sir, I know him very well, for he has suffered very much for the King, poor Gentleman !

Joyce.

80

Joyce.

Joyce. Thou sayest very right, honest Smith ; but when did'st see him ?

Smith. Indeed, Sir, I have not seen him a great while,

Joyce. if I could but see him, I should make known our Design to him, for he would be very joytul to hear of it.

Smith. You say right, Sir, for you need not doubt but that he would be glad to hear (as well as many others) of the bringing the right Heir to his Estate again, from which *Oliver Cromwel*, that Grand Traytor, and the rest of his bloody Crew, have banished him ; murdering his Father before his own Palace Gate, the like whereof has not been known in former Ages ; for I have read of all the Reigns of the Kings and Emperors, and cannot find the like Case.

Joyce. Thou sayest right, honest Smith ; for it was the horriddest Thing was ever committed, but God will find them out, I warrant thee, for

God

26 A BLACK-SMITH,

God will not let innocent Blood go unrevenge'd.

Upon these Speeches the Tears did stand in mine Eyes, which he perceiv-
ing, did take Notice of it; and told
Bradshaw of it when I was brought to
London, as you shall hear in the fol-
lowing Discourse.

Smith. Sir, Oliver Cromwell did
pretend that the King was a Traytor,
and that he did violate the Laws of
the Nations; but pray, Sir, consider
what he has done; for he was the
greatest Traytor that ever Hell hatch-
ed; for first he put his Sovereign Lord
King Charles to Death; and when
that was counted a high Breach in
the King to demand Five Members,
he most Traiterously turned them
All out; for just as Richard the Third
did, so did he; and likewise he
brought, like the Devil, (as he can)
Religion for all his bloody Actions;
as if God had ordered him to Mur-
der his King, whom God and Man
knew was innocent, and whom he
ought

ought to have obeyed, and not to have slain: But what is it that a Tyrant will not do?

Jeyce. Thou sayest right, honest Smith, for he was the greatest Tyrant was ever read of, which I did find to my Sorrow; and those his Imps, who now sit, be as bad as he, for they seek after other Mens Revenues as he did, for they are bloody minded Men all of them.

Smith. You say right, Sir; for if Hell had been picked there could not a more wicked Pack been found out, for they all seek after Blood, and other Mens Estates; and there they sit and Vote Estates one for another, and lay great Taxes upon the Nations, but never look after Trade for the Nation whereby People might be able to pay them; and fetch out of Jail *Martin*, and others, who were in for Debt, to sit in the House, because they lack Members to stand for the *Good Old Cause*; as if there were not Men enough in the Nation, who will
stand

22 A BLACK-SMITH,

stand for the *Good Old Cause*; as well as they; but this Cause which they name, is not the Cause which tender-hearted Christians would have; for these seek after other Mens Estates, for *Martin* to make him Rich; and the rest will not be in Debt while there is Money in the Nation.

Joyce. Thou say'st right, honest Smith, for my Estate, and other Mens, must pay their Debts.

Smith. But, Sir, did you never read Mr. *Prin's* Books? He discovers what their *Good Old Cause* is: That Man has done as much good as any one Man in the Nation; and there is no Doubt but the King will reward him for it.

Joyce. Indeed, honest Smith, I have seen many of his Books, and have read many of his Passages; but cannot hear of any Thing he doth act, and thou knowest that my Master cannot be brought in with Books, but with Arms.

Smith.

Smith. You are right, Sir, for that; but there is a Time for all Things; and I believe, when he can see an Opportunity, he will not be wanting.

Joyce. But when didst see him?

Smith. I saw him about a Week ago, at the Sign of the *Bear* in *Marlborough*.

Joyce. And whither was he going?

Smith. Down towards the *Bath*, I think.

Joyce. And had'st thou any Discourse with him?

Smith. I was with him there, and did spake with him by the Means of a *Londoner* who was there.

Joyce. But what Discourse had you with him?

Smith. Truly very little, for I went in only to see him, having heard good Report of him; for I had read many of his Books; and he returned me Thanks, and made me drink; so I went from him, and did never before nor since see him.

Joyce.

24 A BLACK-SMITH,

Joyce. But did he not speak about a Rising there?

Smith. No indeed, Sir.

Joyce. That is a Wonder they do not tell him of it, for he would be a good Friend to my Master; I wish I had but spoken with him; I would have given twenty Pounds if I had been there.

Smith. You might have been there for half the Money, Sir.

Joyce. But do't hear, honest Smith; Dost know Lord *Herbert*?

Smith. Yes Sir; very well.

Joyce. Do't think he will dous any Good? He has been right for my Master formerly.

Smith. You need not question that Sir, he is so still; for I assure you that he is as honest a Noble Lord as any in the Western Parts.

Joyce. Do't know of any Interest he has carried?

Smith. No Sir, there is none as I know of; but he will not be backward when Opportunity may serve.

Joyce.

Joyce. Thou do'st know a great many Travellers who come up and down, do'st not ?

Smith. Yes, Sir, I know a great many.

Joyce. I wonder thou wast not trapped among them.

Smith. No, Thanks be to God, he has preserved me hitherto ; but in Old Noll's Time I was very fearful, because he set many such Persons a-work.

Joyce. How did'st carry thy self being always among them ?

Smith. I have read the 13th of the *Romans*, and there I find that we must be subject to the higher Powers, for there is no Power but is of God ? and except that Power do command any one to do that which is not according to his Word, then we must suffer and not resist ; for there is Scripture for it : Whether it is lawful to obey God or Man, judge you ?

D *Joyce.*

26 A BLACK-SMITH,

Joyce. So, honest Smith, thou art in the Right ; for we all ought to do so.

Smith. I must now take my Leave for I am in much Haste ; for all my Work lieth to be done, and To-morrow is our Market-day : and so I give you many Thanks for all the loving Kindness and Favours you have shewed me.

Joyce. Nay, pray honest Smith, stay a little longer.

Smith. I cannot indeed Sir ; And so I departed from him ; and when I came down the Stairs, I went for my Shoeing-Basket into the Stable, and as I came back again, I saw Cornet *Joyce* go forth towards the *Angel* to the rest of his Crew ; but God knows I could not believe any otherwise, but that they had been as honest as any Men in *England*, for their Pretences made me believe no otherwise of them. Seeing him going forth to the *Angel*, I went to the Chamberlain, who heard most Part of this

this Discourse, and desired them to say nothing of what had pass'd between *Joyce* and me, and them; because if they did, we should be called in question about it, and these honest Gentlemen might be ruined.

Chamberlains. We will not speak a Word to any *Christian*.

Smith. Pray do not; for God prosper him, and all others who are in Arms, to get him to have his own, whose Right it is.

Chamberlains. We will all keep secret.

So I went Home to my Shop, but all this Time I did not know what their Names were, nor what they were, but when I came to my Shop, I was sent for to shoeing to the *King's Arms*, and being there, after I had shoed the Gentleman's Horse, he made me drink: And then I desired Mr. *Sadler*, the Inn-keeper, to go into the Court, for I had some News to tell him: So I re-

28 A BLACK-SMITH,

lated to him what *Joyce* had told me.

Sadler. I am very joyful of it; But is it true?

Smith. It is very true, for I have seen the King's Commission, Signed *Charles Rex*. Then my Brother came for me, and told me there was a Gentleman stayed at the Shop to speak with me: so I went to my Shop, and when I came it was one of them who where at the *Angel* the Night before, as I have related already, whose Name was Corporal *Carter*.

Carter. Smith, prithee go along with me to shoe a Horse.

Smith. Where is your Horse, Sir?

Carter. At the Sign of the *George*, at the Town's End,

Smith. I cannot go, Sir, for I shall lose more the while than I shall take of you.

Carter. Pray go, you shall be paid over and above for your going down; for you shod the Gentleman's Horse

fo

and no JESUIT. 29

so well at the *Hart*, that I would desire you to shoe mine too.

Smith. Well, Sir, any Good as I can do you, I'll do with all my Heart ; So I went along with him ; and as I was going my Mother called me.

Mother. *William*, whither are you going ?

Smith. To the *George* to shoeing :

Mother. To the *George*, to shoeing to the *George* to undoing, I am afraid.

Smith. Why Mother ; what need I be afraid to go ; for I know of no Hurt I have done to any one ? So along I went with him ; and as I looked behind me, I saw *Joyce*, and *Tynne*, and *Smale*, and *Waldron* coming after whispering, and still I did think they were Friends to the King ; when I came to the *George*, the Horse did not want a Shoe, but I was to take one off, and set a better on ; and as I was shoeing him, these Four Blood-Suckers I named came by me, but said never a word, but went up into the

30 A BLACK-SMITH,

Chamber ; and when I had shoed the Horfe, the Soldiers called me in to take my Money : So I went in and received Six-pence, and they made me drink so long, that it cost me the Six-pence which I received for my Work ; Then the Corporal, as he had me down, said he would give me a Flagon of Beer ; which I had, and there was one *James Brown* with them, who was for the King formerly ; and seeing him, I took them for very honest Men ; and told them their Horses were very poor and unable to do them any Service.

Soldiers. We have better Horses when Occasion serves.

Smith. So you had need, Sirs, for the *Rump's* Soldiers have very good Horses, if they should take you, you will be utterly ruined ; God preserve you ; if I could gain a good Horfe, I would not be long behind you to Act for a Cause which God owns, as he doth this.

Soldiers.

Soldiers. Time may come, you may have a Horse, honest Smith, to your Heart's Desire

Then *Joyce* and the rest sent down an Order to the Soldiers, to provide for a March, and it was then Time for me to march too ; so I took my shoeing-basket, and as I was going, *James Brown* called me back.

Brown. Honest *William*, do me a Courtesy.

Smith. What is it, honest *James* ?

Brown. It is but to go to the End of the Village along with me, to be a Witness to the receving of some Money.

Smith. Any Good I can do you I'll do it with all my Heart, So I went along with him, and being about the Middle of the Village, I looked back, and saw a led Horse coming after with five or six on Horseback, and four or five on Foot, which made me wonder what it meant : But I thought the led Horse had been for *James Brown* ; so I went a little farther, and being

32 *A* BLACK-SMITH,

being near the House, which I was to go unto, they said,

Joyce's Crew. Come, Smith, get up and ride.

Smith. Why so, we are hard by the House.

Joyce's Crew. You must get up, and ride.

Smith. How Gentlemen, is it so? Is this the Money, the receiving of which I was to be a Witness for; Gentlemen, pray tell me what you are, and whither you will carry me, and I'll go with you with all my heart; But before I'll go with you I'll know who you are, and whither you will carry me: Upon which I took a Case of Knives out of my Pocket and drew one. They being afraid, lest I would do them, or my self some Hurt, fell upon me and took away my Knives; *James Brown* broke one of them on his Knee, and carried the other to *Joyce*: So they searched my Pockets, took from me one Shilling, the Picture of *Oliver Cromwell* with an Owl

on his Head, and the Letter which the Devil sent to the *Rump*, as was said. Having so done, they set me on Horse-back by main Strength, and tied my Legs under the Horse's Belly with a great Cord; *John Forty* of *Hungerford* was ambitious of that Employment: Then they had me away to the Place called *Shabourn*, out of the Road, by Woods and Lanes, for fear I should be taken away from them. (Christian Reader) little do'st thou think what a Condition I was in, not knowing what they were, nor whither they would carry me, fearing also lest they would have murdered me in the Woods. From *Shabourn*, their Order was to carry me out of *Wiltshire* into *Berkshire*, and so they did: There I stayed at an Old Man's House, with a Cord about me, till Nine o' Clock at Night, at which Time there was an Order brought from *Joyce*, to carry me away to *Reading*; but they would not tell me so, till I came to *Newbury*; so they set me on Horse-back again, and

34 A BLACK-SMITH,

and the same Man tied me as before : The Horse I rid on was a pitiful stumbling Creature ; he fell with me Twice upon his Knees ; if he had fall'n on his Side, it had broken my Legs short off ; At Break of Day, we came to *Newbury*, where they with much Intreaty untied my Legs.

Soldiers. We have a very strict Charge given us, our Lives are at Stake, if you should get away ; you are not to be lost for Twenty thousand Pounds.

Smith. If I did offer to get away then you might do what you would with me. At Nine o' Clock in the Morning, we came to *Reading*, where I was conveyed down to Major *Evelin*, to whom they delivered a Letter they had from *Joyce* ; When he had read the Letter, he called me up Stairs to him.

Evelin. How now, honest Friend, this will be a brave Voyage for you ; if I could speak so much for the good of the Nation as you can, I would
give

give Twenty thousand Pounds :
Come, honest Friend, you must go to
London presently, for the Council of
State do expect your being there this
Night ; there is a Packet gone up to
them about you already.

Smith. Sir, is this your Love to me
to be brought all Night with my
Legs tied, and have me now to *Lon-*
don ? No, Sir, you shall draw me at
the Horses Tail, before I will, till
Monday ; for if I am worth Twenty
thousand Pounds to you, you may
well keep me till *Monday*. Then it
was ordered, I should stay till *Mon-*
day the first of *August*, when I was to
go towards *London*. I asked Major
Evelin, what I should do for Meat
while I was there, for I had no
Money.

Evelin. You shall have some
Meat.

Then I was had to the *Red Lion*,
where we had Meat and Drink,
which came to Two Shillings ; thence
was carried to the Sign of the *An-*
gel,

36 A BLACK-SMITH,

gel, where I supped and lay all Night. Next Day, being Sabbath-day, when I rose in the Morning, the Soldiers upon my intreating, were willing to go to Church along with me.

Soldiers. If you go to Church, you must pluck off your Apron.

Smith. I will Gentlemen.

As I was going to Church, there came a Corporal from Major *Evelin* to have me to the *Ship*, to three Prisoners more.

Smith. Why Friend, we are going to Church, pray come again after Dinner.

Corporal. No you must go along with me ; for a Church belongs not to you, nor any of your Crew.

Smith. What Crew is it that you speak of?

Corporal. Your bloody *Presbyterians*.

Smith. They are not so bloody as you are, Sir.

Corporal. Well, you must go along with me.

Smith.

Smith. Well, I'll go along with you.

[And when I came to the Place assigned for me, they put me in a Room with two more Prisoners; a Porter who was taken carrying Letters to the Lady *Howard*, and a poor Seaman, which Seaman did cry out for Beer most miserably, but could have none, so that he was forced to drink his own Water. The Porter gave him a Flint he used to strike fire with, to put in his Mouth to quench his Thirst, he fell asleep with it in his Mouth, and it had like to have choaked him: Seeing this bad Usage, I was amaz'd, thinking what I should do, having no Money. Then I called for some Beer, and made the Tapster believe I had Money, by speaking these Words, "That it was a good Turn as I had some Money, or else I should be but in a bad Condition." By which Words, I had some Beer and Tobacco: I made the

E

Seaman

38 A BLACK-SMITH,

Seaman and the Porter drink. Then the Seaman spoke to me.

Seaman. The People of the House desired me to come off the Bed, and said I must lie on the Boards.

Smith. Do not ; lie still where you are.

[It being *Sabbath*, I desired them to lend me a Bible, but their Answer was, that a Bible did not belong to me, nor none of my Crew ; I asked what Crew, and they answer'd, the bloody *Presbyterians*. Well then, said I, shall I have any Dinner ? Then they had me down in the Kitchen to dine with the Servants ; but there was but little Meat. After Dinner, I was had up into the Chamber again ; and at Night we were all remov'd into another Chamber, where we lay the next Day, being *Monday*, we were then order'd to provide ourselves ready to go for *London*, so we came to *Coate's* Coach, where there was great Contest, whether they

they should tie my Legs, or no, as I sat in the Coach: But, at last, it was carried in the Negative, by Reason one of the Soldiers was my Acquaintance. Then we went into the Coach, being four of us; viz. One Mr. *Stradling*, a Gentleman of *Wales*; the Seaman, the Porter, and myself; and we went by the Way of *Sunning*, being two Miles beyond *Reading*, and there they did take up in the Coach three Passengers more, a Gentlewoman and her Son, and a certain *Anabaptist*. The *Anabaptist* fell into Discourse with me as follows.]

Anabaptist. Upon what Account are you carried Prisoner.

Smith. Because I would not bring innocent Blood on the Nation.

Anabaptist. I lament your Condition because of your hard Usage.

(But when I had turned my Back, he *Joak*-like, speaks to the Soldiers to tie my Legs, and said I was the shrewdest Fellow as ever he did discourse with; But they did not hearken

40 A BLACK-SMITH,

to him. So when we came to *Colebrook*, we had a good Dinner; and the Gentlewoman pitying me, paid four Shillings and Six-pence towards the Dinner: So along we came towards *London*; but by that Time we came some four Miles, I had Occasion to disburthen myself of Nature's Due.)

Smith. Pray let me come forth out of the Coach.

Soldiers. No, you shall not, it is only a Pretence to get away from us, you may do it in the Coach if you will.

Smith. With all my Heart, I do not care; pray make Room for me, hold up your Legs, (so I untied my Point.)

Coachman. Pray Gentlemen, let him out of the Coach, for there will be a Stink to poison us all.

Soldiers. We'll let him forth: Come Smith, go to the Middle of the Village.

Smith.

and no JESUIT. 41

Smith. I'll go to yonder End of the Village with all my Heart: Or if you will not let me, I'll do it in the Coach.

Soldiers. We'll go along with you. (So I went to the Ditch, and they with me, with their Pistols in their Hands.)

Smith. Now Gentlemen, I think you will make me do it for Fear, if you watch me so narrowly.

Soldiers. We do not care for that, we can do no less; for our Lives lie at Stake if you escape.

(So I went into the Coach again, and about Seven o' Clock we came to London, being the first Day of August: The Coach carried us down to White-ball, where many People did resort to see what Prisoners were there; so I came out with my Leather Apron before me.)

Gentlemen. What have you brought here?

Smith. A Black-Smith.

42. A BLACK-SMITH,

Gentlemen. Why what has he done?

Smith. I do not know Sir, without it be for a present Supply to fill up the House, for I hear they want Members.

Gentlemen. How now, what do you jeer at *Whiteball* Gate? Come along with us.

(So we were had in, and all other People kept back, because we should be seen from the rest: We went thro' several Rooms till we came to the Council-Chamber-Door, where Serjeant *Dandy* came forth to take the Names of those who came up with me. After he had taken them, he inquired farther.)

Dandy. Is there not one Mr. *Holbrook* here?

Smith. There is one Mr. *Holbrook* a Black-Smith here: (Upon that he looked eagerly upon me, and seeing my Habit, he went into the Council, and told them what I was; upon that out came the Lord *Sidenham*, and looked very eagerly on me.

Sidenham.

Sidenham. Are you a Black-Smith?

Smith. Yes, my Lord, and I have heard very good Reports of this Honourable Court, of their merciful Dealings, and I hope I shall find it so now.

Sidenham. You are some Jesuit, I warrant you, for you are no Black-Smith.

Smith. Why, my Lord, have you such Thoughts of a poor Black-Smith?

Sidenham. Because you give such Answers.

Smith. Why, my Lord, if you have read the History of King Henry the VIIIth; you shall find there was Black-Smith's Son, whose Name was *Thomas Cromwell*, who was Vicegerent to the King's Person, and one of his Privy Counsellors. And if you read the History of *Scanderbag* of the *Turks*, my Lord, you shall find there was a Black-Smith who commanded the Army, when all the Officers fled, and gained Victory

44 A BLACK-SMITH,

tory. And if you have read the Lives of the Emperors, you may find one of them was a Black-Smith. And if you read the History of Queen *Mary*, you shall find six Black-Smiths who suffer'd for a good Conscience. And if you read the Heraldry of Arms, you shall find, that the highest Coat of Arms in the three Nations belongs to the Black-Smiths.

Sidenham. What, do you come with your Pedigree, my merry Blade? Come, Serjeant *Dandy*, look to this Fellow, for he is some Jesuit, and has transform'd himself into a Black-Smith's Habit, because: we should not know him.

Dandy. What, shall I set you down a Black-Smith, or a Farrier?

Smith. I am a Smith, I am no Farrier.

Dandy. I'll set you down a Farrier.

Smith. You will not set down a Lie, Sir, for I am a Black-Smith.

Dandy.

and no JESUIT. 45

Dandy. Then I'll fet you down a Black-Smith.

[Then he call'd for a File of Musquetiers to guard us unto the *Irish* Guard, in *Scotland-Yard*, where we lay on the Boards, with some other Prisoners: The next Day, I was sent for to the Council, where was *Bradshaw*, *Disborough*, and Sir *Henry Vane*.

Bradshaw. What a woeful Fellow hast thou been, to endeavour to bring these Nations in Blood, in carrying on the Interest of such a Blood-sucker and Traitor as *Charles Stuart* is? But come, my merry Blade; if you will be ingenuous, and reveal the Enemies of the Commonwealth, you shall see what we will do for you: You ought to be encourag'd, and not discourag'd; and to be rewarded, and not punished; remember thou hast a Soul, thou must seek to save it, and a Conscience; do not stretch it; neither must you lie.

Smith.

46 A BLACK-SMITH,

Smith. My Lord, if I should not reveal the Enemies of the Commonwealth, who should seek to act against such godly People as you are, I am worse than accurs'd.

Bradshaw. You speak well my merry Blade; I wish we may find it so.

[*William Lenthall*, the Speaker, came and told them, that the Parliament desired their Company, to carry on the Work of the Day in Prayer.]

Bradshaw. My merry Blade, go into the Council-Chamber, and be real, and you shall not lose by it, for we must go.

[Ha! thought I, when the Fox preaches, beware the Geese. Then General Lambert was going out against Sir George Booth; all went but *Disborough*. and he had more Mind to examine me than to go to Prayer; and while they were at Prayer, he was at his Prey; so they had me in the Room, and *Disborough* came in after, smoaking.]

Disborough.

and no JESUIT. 47

Disborough. Come, honest Smith, do'st thou know me?

Smith. No, indeed, my Lord, I do not know your Honour.

Disborough. My Name is *Disborough*.

Smith. Is it so, my Lord; you were one of the Major-Generals then, my Lord.

Disborough. But do'st hear honest Smith; do'st know Captain *Bruges* of *Marlborough*?

Smith. Yes, very well, my Lord.

Disborough. Why is he made Ranger of Lord Marquiss's Forest?

Smith. Truly, my Lord, I cannot tell; but as nigh as I can tell you; he being a Man of Power, and the Common lying open, and many Offenders living thereabout, he is put in for a strict Terror unto the Offendor.

Disborough. Is that all, do'st think?

Smith. Yes, my Lord, that is all as I know of.

Disborough.

48 A BLACK-SMITH,

Disborough. Did'st ever hear of any Design as he carried on with the Lord Marquis of *Hertford*?

Smith. No, indeed, my Lord.

Disborough. But thou know'st, honest Smith, that one good Turn asketh another.

Smith. That is true, my Lord; for if you would let me have my Liberty, I should pray for you.

Disborough. Thou needest not doubt of that if thou wilt be real, and reveal the Enemies of the Commonwealth: But do'st know of no Design that is carried on between them?

Smith. No, my Lord.

Disborough. Well, honest Smith, what do'st think of these bloody *Presbyterians*?

Smith. Truly, you give strange Titles. It is true, some may be bad; but you may put more Confidence in them, than in a great many you do put in Trust.

Disborough. How so, Smith?

Smith.

and no JESUIT. 49

Smith. Why, my Lord, they who engage to be true for all Governments, will never be true to you.

Disborough. Say you so, my merry Blade!

Smith. Yes, my Lord, and I can bring a *History of Constantine* to make it appear.

Disborough. Come, let us hear that.

Smith. Well, you shall, my Lord. This *Constantine*, was born here in *England*, and was the first Christian Emperor that ever was; *Hellena* was his Mother, and *Constantine* was his Father; he was buried at *York*; and this *Constantine* builded *Constantinople*, the chief City now in *Turkey*, and there he lieth buried: This *Constantine* made a Proclamation, that all those Persons who were his Servants, and would not bow and worship an *Unknown God*, should not be suffered to be in his Palace, to try their Pulses; and of Three hundred and odd Servants, there are not above

50 *A* BLACK-SMITH,

Forty but did forsake him; they chose rather to go to Hell with their Riches and Honour, than to be with God, and suffer Afflictions. The Emperor seeing so few, did weep bitterly. — Well, said he, they who be true unto God, will be true to their Prince; and those who are false to God, will be false to their Prince: So he turned out these who forsook God for their Honour. I hope this will be your Rule, my Lord.

Disborough. What do'st come as a Counsellor to me?

Smith. No, my Lord, I come as a poor Black-Smith.

Disborough. Thou art a very unlucky one then.

[Then he went to examine me about many other Persons; and I seeing many Writers behind, I thought I had Need to have as many Eyes as *Argus* had, to be amongst these Men. Well thought I, I'll set you to Work; so I went on upon Histories as follows.

Smith.

Smith. May it please your Honour, my Lord, to call to Mind the ancient Histories, you shall find that *William* the Conqueror was begotten of a *Skinner's* Daughter; his Father's Name was Duke *Robert*, and his Mother was dancing under a *May-pole* when Duke *Robert* first fell in Love with her, (and was crown'd three Times a Year) and he reigned Twenty Years, eleven Months, and odd Days, and could scarce have his Length and Breadth in the Earth, for all he was a Conqueror. And then *William Rufus*, his Son, reign'd in his Stead, and he pulled his Brother's Eyes out, he loved Honour so well; and he was killed in the *New Forest* in *Hampshire*, by the glancing of an Arrow, shot by one *Tirrel*; a just Judgment of God upon him for his Father's destroying so many Churches; therefore, two more of his Loins were killed there too. And after him reign'd *Henry* the First, who was the first Inventor of Yards

52 A BLACK-SMITH,

and Ells ; and his Eyes and Brains were buried at *Roan* in *Normandy*, and his Body was wrapped up in Ox Hides, and salted, and buried at *Reading*, which hath been a mighty Place for Tanners ever since.

[*Disborough* at last looks back on the Clerks who wrote.]

Disborough. What do you write there ?

Clerk. What your Discourse is, my Lord.

Disborough. Strike it out, strik't out ; here is Stuff indeed : We shall have *Speed's* Chronicle by and by.

(Now my Lord is for going to seek God by Prayer ; but I believe it was done before he came : Then Serjeant *Dandy* had me down into the Cellar at *Whiteball*, where several Men had the Cellars to sell Drink and Bread ; and I seeing this, thought to myself, that Cardinal *Wolsey* did never build it for that Use. When I had dined, I was had up again ; but as yet they were not come from their

and no JESUIT. 53

their Fasting, so I was had to the *Irish* Guard in *Scotland-yard*, and did not go again 'till the next Day. That Night I had a Kind of a blind Certificate came from *Marlborough*, which was procured by my Mother's weeping and making great Moan, to acquaint the Council that I was a Black-Smith, and kept a great Charge from the Parish; so that if I should be debar'd of my Liberty, the Charge would lie on the Parish: So you see what a weak Certificate they sent in my Behalf; if it had not been for my Charge, they had not car'd if I had been ruined. Next Day I was fetch'd again, where was *Bradshaw*, and *Whitlock*; who was President.)

Bradshaw. Come, my merry Blade; you came yesterday, and promised us to be ingenuous, and did only tell us a few merry Tales; come, we'll send you to a Place which shall make you reveal our Enemies; are you so hardened in your Wickedness? Come;

52 A BLACK-SMITH,

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54 A BLACK-SMITH,

you must prepare yourself for *Newgate*.

Smith. *Newgate*, what, the Metropolitan Jail of the Nation? No meaner a Place, my Lord! (Now *Christian Reader* my Sorrow comes: They sent for two Messengers, and gave them Order to convey me in Safety to *Newgate*: *Whitlock* signed the Warrant; then seeing all would not do, I shewed to *Bradshaw* my blind Certificate, which some of them, whose Heart the Devil had hardened, had sent me, to do me no Good: I wish that their Hearts had been no worse towards me, and their Consciences so good as mine was towards them; for he who is the Searcher of all Hearts, knows how I was put to it, not to bring them into Trouble, by the Means of *Joyce* that bloody Fellow. *Bradshaw* received the Certificate from me, and did read it.)

Bradshaw. A Black-Smith! You may be a Black-Smith, and carry on the Interest of *Charles Stuart*: A Charge!

Charge! What do we care for your Charge? the Parish is bound to keep them.

Smith. My Lord, they will be but poorly kept then.

Bradshaw. Then you must complain to the next Justice of Peace, my merry Blade!

Smith. My Lord, I had as good complain of a Senator of *Venice*, as to do any Good upon some of them.

Bradshaw. Go, my merry Blade, along with them.

(So they had me up to *Newgate*, and the Keepers were called, the Doors being shut; so they came and read the Warrant, and put me into the Dungeon, where it was very dark.)

Smith. Pray let me have some Light.

Keeper. You must buy Candles, if you will have any; for you must have none without Money.

Smith. I have no Money: (So I was fain to lie all that Night, and
next

56 *A* BLACK-SMITH,

next Day in the dark; then I sent to a Friend in Town, and borrowed five Shillings: In the mean Time the Keeper came into the Dungeon.

Keeper. You must give me forty Shillings, or else I'll put Irons on your Legs.

Smith. I have no Money.

Keeper. You must give Six-pence a Night for lying on the Mat.

Smith. I have no Money.

Keeper. Then you must lie on the Floor; for I'll take away the Mat.

Smith. Well, I will pay you Six-pence a Night then.

(Which I was forced to promise; there being almost nothing but Dirt and Piss, which was thrown down from the Common-Side; and there was a House of Office at one End, which made such a Stink that I was ready to be poisoned; Nay, had been, if God had not raised up Friends for me, in particular Mr. *Samuel Profit*, who brought Cordial-Waters and Syrups, which was the saving of my Life under God.

God; Next Day, there was an Order from the Council of State to bring me down.)

Keeper. If you have any Money, you may hire a Coach and go down to the Council; it may be for your Deliverance.

Smith. What will a Coach cost?

Keeper. A Shilling.

[Then I came to the Door, and there was a Coach; so I gave a Shilling for the two Keepers; the Messenger who came did ride in the Coach with me; and when we came, there was only *Bradshaw* and Cornet *Joyce*, who was newly come out of the Country, because he could go no farther in his Enterprize 'till they made a Knight of the Post, to swear that all he did write was Truth: When I saw him there, my Heart ris'd exceedingly at him.]

Smith. Are you come, Sir? It is well if you have brought a good Conscience with you.

(*Joyce*)

58 A BLACK-SMITH,

(Joyce did deliver a Paper written on both Sides.)

Bradshaw. Come, my merry Blade, you have told us merry Tales all along, but now here is something of Consequence come against you: Come hear your Charge; Did you not say there was a Number of honest Men in your Country?

Smith. Yes, my Lord.

Bradshaw. And that these Men carried on the Interest of *Charles Stuart*?

Smith. No, my Lord.

Bradshaw. Come, my winding-Blade, Did you say this or not?

Smith. My Lord, some I did say, and some I did not say.

Bradshaw. Answer Negatively, or Affirmatively.

Smith. Why, should I say there is no honest Men, when there be, my Lord.

Bradshaw. Come, my merry Blade; we do not speak of that; play not with the Halter.

Smith.

and no JESUIT. 59

Smith. Why then, my Lord, set down, No.

Bradshaw. If there be honest Men, come to the next, my merry Blade; Did you not say, there was a Number of good Horses in the County?

Smith. Yes, my Lord.

Bradshaw. And that those Horses were kept for the Interest of *Charles Stuart*.

Smith. No, my Lord; do you not know upon what Interest Men keep Horses? Some for Hawking, some for Hunting, and some to ride to Markets and Fairs.

Bradshaw. Come hearken to your Charge; you shall have Play-time enough with the Halter.

Smith. Shall I say there be no good Horses when there are, my Lord.

Bradshaw. Sirrah, we do not talk of good Horses, but what Persons do keep them for *Charles Stuart*.

Smith. Truly I do not know, my Lord, so you may set down.

Bradshaw.

60 A BLACK-SMITH,

Bradshaw. Come to the next; you said you had received divers Letters from Mr. *Pryn*, and had delivered them to many Persons in *Wiltshire*, to carry on *Charles Stuart's* Interest; to the Lord Marquis one, and Lord *Seymour* another; Mr. *Byfield*, Mr. *Profit*, and Mr. *Sheriff*, each of them one, Mr. *Web* of *Ogbourn*, and Mr. *Thomas Bayly*, Doctor *Chambers* and Colonel *Popham*, with many others, had Meetings at Mr. *Thomas Bayly's* to carry on this Design; how say you to this, my merry Blade?

Smith. Truly, my Lord, without this *Joyce* had been with the Devil for Advice; I cannot see how a Man could invent such Forgeries.

Bradshaw. How, my merry Blade, will you be hang'd, drawn and quartered? Come, you shall have fair Play; must all this be concealed? You shall smart for it soundly: Are there not Meetings at *Bayly's*?

Smith. Yes, my Lord.

Brad.

and no JESUIT. 61

Bradshaw. What do their Meetings tend to ?

Smith. To seek unto God for a Blessing on your Endeavours, if you act for God, my Lord.

Bradshaw. Come, you are a winding Blade. What Horfe was it that the Duke of *Buckingham* bought at your Town ?

Smith. It was a very good Horfe, indeed my Lord.

Bradshaw. Why did he go to such a high Price ?

Smith. Because such belong to Dukes and Earls, I think.

Bradshaw. Was it not to carry on the Interest of *Charles Stuart* he hath bought that Horfe ?

Smith. I do not know indeed, my Lord. (Then he shook his Head.)

Bradshaw. Do you not know whether Mr. *Woodbridge* of *Newbury*, and Mr. *Fowler* of *Reading*, do carry on any Interest for *Charles Stuart* ?

Smith. I know of none, my Lord.

G

Brad:

62 A BLACK-SMITH,

Bradshaw. What did you make at *Bath* ?

Smith. I went to receive some Money which was there due to me.

Bradshaw. You carried Letters to Mr. *Pierce* and Mr. *Harrington*, to carry on the Interest of *Charles Stuart*.

Smith. It is no such Thing, my Lord ; it is as false as God is true.

Bradshaw. Come, what Alderman of *London* was that you had discourse with.

Smith. I do not remember, my Lord.

Bradshaw. Do you not ? We'll make you.

Joyce. Yes, my Lord, we have another Witness who will prove that he had Discourse with him ; if you please to read along, my Lord, you shall find one *Thomas Goddard's* Hand to it.

[There *Joyce* set down Names whereof I never spoke to him, and all to see what I would say ; So knowing what Discourse *Joyce* and I had,
I

I told them, that he said there was an Interest carrying on for the King, and he hoped I would fight for my Country as well as the rest : So they sent for that honest Gentleman down to *Whitehall*, and kept me there, and would not have me away till I had confirmed what *Joyce* had set down. And when he was there, they made me come in.]

Bradshaw. Come, is this true that is written in this Paper which I have here in my Hand ?

[He holds a Paper in his Hand, and would not let me see it, nor read it ; and I must say that it was true, or else I must be hanged.]

Smith. My Lord, what I said to *Joyce* is true, but if he has written any more than I said to him, it is false.

[So the Gentleman, by great providence, was released ; then they came to the Examination of me again.]

Bradshaw. Cornet *Joyce*, will you swear this is true, as it is written in this Paper ?

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Joyce. Yes, my Lord, I dare swear it is true.

Smith. Ha, my Lord, he will swear as much against you, if there was but a Change of Government.

Bradshaw. Come, my merry Blade, it will not be a Time for you to dally, therefore be ingenuous.

Smith. Pray, my Lord, let me speak a few Words for myself.

Bradshaw. You speak! away! away!

Smith. Why, my Lord, pray let me have as much Privilege as *Paul* among the *Heathens* had, that is to speak for myself, my Lord?

Bradshaw. Why, you do not count us *Heathens*, do you?

Smith. No, not I, my Lord; but as *Paul* had that Privilege among the *Heathens*, I hope I shall have the same among you godly *Christians*.

Bradshaw. Come, my winding Blade, what have you to say?

Smith. Why, my Lord, *Joyce* did tell me, at the *Hart*, that he
was

and no JESUIT. 65

was an Agent for *Charles Stuart*, and that a Friend of his at *London* had sent down into the *West*, fifty thousand Pounds, and ten thousand Cases of Pistols; he drunk the King's Health, and shewed me the King's Commission.

Bradshaw. Oh, my merry Blade, we do allow him that, to try you, and such as you are.

Joyce. Hark, he can remember what I said, but he cannot remember what he said!

Smith. But, my Lord, that which he lays to my Charge, is false: And my Lord, I have Witnesses to swear what he said; but what he saith of me, there is none will swear but himself.

Bradshaw. Well, we do allow him in it.

Smith. Do you so, my Lord? Why, you told me, my Lord, when I first came before you, that I should remember I had a Soul, which I should seek to save, and a Conscience

66 A BLACK-SMITH,

which I should not stretch, and I must not lie, and may he lie, my Lord? Hath he a Conscience and may he stretch it? Hath he a Soul, and may he damn it, my Lord?

Bradshaw. What, my merry Blade, do you come with your Application? We'll shew you fair Play, my merry Blade: Come, call in the Keepers of *Newgate*.

Smith. The Keepers are come.

Bradshaw. You must look after this Fellow very narrowly, for he can peach above forty Men, and he will not; but we will make him, e'er we have done with him.

[So away they had me; and when I came to *Whitehall* Gate, they call'd for a Coach.]

Keepers. You must pay for the Coach.

Smith. No, I will never pay for a Coach to carry myself to Jail.

Keepers. You had as good pay for it, for you shall before you come out of Prison.

(So

(So they had me away to *Newgate*, and as soon as I came, they put two great Chains on my Legs, and put me into the Dungeon again, and pull'd my Coat from my Back for Fees : Then I bought some Candles, and when they were lighted, I was in a worse Condition than before; for the Rats did so run about me, that I was driven to keep a Stick in my Hand to keep them from me; yet I lay there seven or eight Days and Nights, being in a sad Condition; for the Chain was too little for my Legs, and their beating them made them swell very much, so that they enter'd into my Flesh. At last, the Keeper, seeing me in that Condition, said,)

Keeper. If you will give me a Shilling, I'll take off one of your Chains.

Smith. I will.

(The Keeper, fearing I should not live, let me out into the Master's Prison. There I staid a Week before

68 A BLACK-SMITH,

fore I was had down to the Council ; then I went, where was *Disborough*, *Bradshaw*, *Vane*, and *Col. Berry*.

Bradshaw. Come, my merry Blade, what are you convinced of your bloody Actions yet ?

Smith. Truly, my Lord, you lay that to my Charge which I know nothing of.

Bradshaw. Come, my merry Blade, what Arms did Lord *Herbert* carry down in his Coach ?

Smith. None, my Lord, as I know of.

Bradshaw. Did he carry none to carry on the Interest of *Charles Stuart* ?

Smith. Indeed I did not see any, my Lord.

Joyce. Well there is one at *Marlborough*, who will justify, that you do know of it.

Smith. What is he, Sir ?

Joyce. It is one *Thomas Goddard*, and he will justify more than this too.

Smith.

Smith. Then you may fetch him, for I know nothing.

[Now this *Joyce*, when he was at *Marlborough*, did provide a Writing, and did desire Mr. *Goddard* to put his Hand to it, for it was a Thing of no Value, because he could not write, neither did he understand what was writ, put a Mark, which had like to have undone myself and all the rest : So I sent down to Mr. *Goddard*, and he sent me Word he knew nothing, upon which I escaped their Snare. But to go on where we left.]

Bradshaw. Come, my merry Blade, what Design is that which Mr. *William Pryn* is going to carry on ?

Smith. None as I know of, my Lord.

Bradshaw. Do you not know ? We'll make you know before we have done with you.

Smith. My Lord, let me keep a good Conscience, according to your own Desire.

Bradshaw.

70 A BLACK-SMITH,

Bradshaw. No, my merry Blade, it is not my Desire, you should conceal the Enemies of the Nation, so as to wrong your Conscience, as you do: Come, my merry Blade, did you see any of his Books?

Smith. Yes, my Lord.

Bradshaw. And what doth he write.

Smith. He writes, that this Parliament which sits now, is a *Rump*.

[The Clerks wrote this down.]

Bradshaw. Did not there come Mr. Clark to this *Prin* at *Marlborough*.

Smith. Yes, my Lord, one Mr. Clark was with him there.

Bradshaw. And what did he do there?

Smith. Truly, my Lord, I do not know.

Bradshaw. Do'st think he did carry on any Interest with him against us?

Smith. None, my Lord, as I know of.

Brad.

Bradshaw. Well, my merry Blade, you shall have fair Play, but do not play with the Halter.

Smith. Fair Play, my Lord, is to be tried by the Common-Law ; and then my Evidence may be tried as well as yours ; and then, my Lord, I shall have the Privilege of twelve Men, and that is the Privilege of every *English* Man, for every Emperor to be tried by Twelve Emperors, and every King by Twelve Kings ; and I by Twelve Persons according to my Degree ; that is the Common-Law, my Lord.

Bradshaw. Do you know Law so well ? We will shew you Law : For the Parliament hath given Order that there shall be a high Court of Justice to try all Plotters.

Smith. You may do what you please, my Lord, for I am but a poor Black-Smith, but yet I have read the Common Law, and cannot find a Word of any Court higher than a Court of Parliament.

Brad.

72 A BLACK-SMITH,

Bradshaw. Come, my merry Blade, you shall find a Court higher.

Smith. Nay, my Lord, if you please, I will send to *Marlborough*, and have their Letters to vindicate me.

Disborough. There are but three honest Men in *Marlborough*.

Smith. Who are they, my Lord?

Disborough. Mr. *Hews* a Minister, Mr. *Keynes*, and Mr. *Blisset*; but I fear Mr. *Blisset* is poisoned in drinking too deep in the *Presbyterians* Cup.

Smith. I will send down to them, my Lord, and gain their Letters.

[I sent to them, and Mr. *Hews* did for me as if I had been a Child of his own, and so did Mr. *Blisset*, in making known to them how I was betray'd, and trapan'd, and that it would be a Disgrace to their Government. Then some of the Council sent down to Mr. *Hews*, the Minister, to know whether I was a Black-Smith or no; and he did acquaint them, that I was a Black-Smith; and if they
did

did know what I was, as he did, they would not have kept me so long a Prisoner; all which they did, notwithstanding there were some bloody-minded Men persuaded them to the contrary, but I am the more engaged ever to pray for them.]

Bradshaw. Can you write, or no?

Smith. Yes, I can, my Lord.

Bradshaw. Keeper of *Newgate*, look after this Fellow, and keep him from Pen, Ink, and Paper; for he has receiv'd Letters and Papers from those in the Country to conceal them.

Smith. There is no Need of that, my Lord, for I know nothing of them, but that they are honest Men.

Bradshaw. Mr. *Carter* of *Marlborough* has left off his Pleading, to act against us, and you know it well enough, my merry Blade.

Smith. No, my Lord, truly I know of no such Thing.

(Then they had me away again to *Newgate*, by the Order of *Disborough*, *Vane*, and *Bradshaw*; where three

H

Gentlemen

74 A BLACK-SMITH,

Gentlemen came and gave one Shilling and Six-pence to have me over to the Cellar to drink with them : I did not know them.)

Gentlemen. Pray sit down with us ; what is the Reason you are used so cruelly ?

Smith. Because I would not swear that all the Forgeries which *Joyce, Smale, Tynne,* and others had invented, were Truth, to bring innocent Blood on the Nation, when there has been so much already spilled.

Gentlemen. But you need not lye in this Condition if you would but speak Truth ; For thou knowest that these *Presbyterians* are bloody, and thou canst not wrong them, say what thou wilt ; for surely they are in the Plot, and therefore thou needest not scruple swearing.

Smith. Truly, for my Part I know nothing but Honesty by them, and therefore they shall rack me before I will wrong my Conscience to bring innocent Blood on the Nation.

Gentlemen.

Gentlemen. We thought to have spoken for you, and got you out; but seeing you are hardened in your Wickedness, you may lye by it for us.

(Then I was had to Prison again, and the next Week I was had down to the Council; and when I came there, *Bradshaw* said,)

Bradshaw. Well, will you set your Hand to this Writing?

Smith. Let me hear what it is first, my Lord. For I remember the History of Queen *Mary*, that she provided a Hand-writing to put her Sister to Death; but King *Philip* reading it over did save her Life, and himself out of the Snare; therefore I'll read it before I will set my Hand to it, my Lord.

Bradshaw. I'll read it.

(So he read it, and it was such Lies, that it made my Hair stand on End, and my Heart trembled; for the whole Scope of it was to bring the

76 A BLACK-SMITH,

Number of forty Men to Ruin, which I would not.)

Bradshaw. Come, my merry Blade, seeing you will cast away yourself, and will not reveal the Enemies of the Common-wealth; prepare yourself for Death. Carry him away to *Newgate*.

(So they had me away to *Newgate* again, and as I was going out of the Chamber, I did meet with one Mr. *John Dove* of *Salisbury*, to whom I said, Pray Sir, commiserate my Condition,

Dove. What art?

Smith. A poor Black-Smith of *Marlborough*, who was betrayed by Cornet *Joyce*, who carried the King Prisoner from *Holmby*; and he will cause my Life to be taken away, if I will not swear that all he says is true.

Dove. Thou shalt be hanged for me, right or wrong, if you will not reveal these Traitors whom *Joyce* has named.

(So

(So away they had me to Prison, at which Time the Sessions was in the *Old Baily*, where they had me, and made me give three Shillings and Ten-pence for Bail-dock Money. Then was I called to the Bar, where the Order was read which the Council of State had sent up with me, which was as follows, viz. William Houlbrook committed for High Treason, for holding Correspondence with the Enemies of this Commonwealth, by Bullstrode Whitlock President. To which there was no Answer demanded of me, as I hoped there would, that I might have been tried by the Common-Law, that my Evidence might have been heard as well as his ; for I much feared the High Court of Justice (as it was called) but having nothing said to me, I was carried to *Newgate* again ; after which, I was had again before the Council where *Bradshaw* was, and said thus.)

Bradshaw. Be honest, and remember there is a God, and do not con-

78 A BLACK-SMITH,

ceal the Enemies of the Common-wealth as you do.

Smith. If I did know of any who acted against such godly *Christians* as you are, if I did not reveal them, I was worse than accursed.

Bradshaw. You are a hollow-hearted Blade, you can please all Governments.

Smith. Then, my Lord, I am the fitter to live in the Common-wealth; for my Work lies so among them, that I must do it always, provided I can with a good Conscience.

Bradshaw. But do'st hear, my merry Blade; why did'st thou weep when thou wast with Cornet *Joyce*, at *Marlborough*?

Smith. Why, my Lord, it was because I did understand he was going on a Design against such godly Persons as you are.

Bradshaw. No, my merry Blade, you did weep because that Tyrant *Charles Stuart* did not enjoy his own again, as you termed it.

Smith.

Smith. No, my Lord, it was not so; for what I said to him, was only to try him.

Bradshaw. O my merry Blade! if he had not meddled with you, you would never have meddled with him.

Smith. You say right, my Lord; for it did not belong to me, because you had put him in Trust to do it.

Bradshaw. Why, my merry Blade, do you meddle so much with State-matters as you do? Cannot you follow your Trade, and let them alone?

Smith. Truly, my Lord, the Peace and Welfare of this Nation doth as much concern me to look after, as it doth your Lordship.

Bradshaw. Come, what is *Rachley* of *Marlborough*? doth not he carry on the Interest of *Charles Stuart*?

Smith. Not as I know of, my Lord.

Bradshaw. Doth not he entertain some of *Charles Stuart's* Friends in his House?

Smith.

80 **A BLACK-SMITH,**

Smith. Why my Lord? If any comes to his House, he must not turn them out of Doors, because his House is a House of Entertainment, and there is no Reason for it, so long as they do not act against you, my Lord.

Bradshaw. Come, he is a notable Youth; he was one of Lord Cottington's Stewards.

Smith. What if he was, my Lord? So long as he acts nothing against you, it matters not.

Bradshaw. Come, my merry Blade, seeing you are so hardened in your Wickedness, provide for Death; we thought to have bestowed Riches and Honour upon you; but now there will be no Hopes.

Smith. I beseech you, my Lord, to shew Mercy to me, and let me not be sent to *Newgate* again; for the Allowance of the Prison is but Bread and Water.

Bradshaw. It is no Matter, it is too much for you.

(Then

(Then he raged like a Lion, and would not let any one ask me any Question but himself. Then came in the Lord *Disborough*, saying, “ My Lord, pray come to Dinner ; you will do your Honour much Wrong by keeping yourself Fasting, and so long in Examinations.”

Bradshaw. Pray my Lord, hold your Peace ; if you will not look after the Welfare and Peace of the Nation, I will ; and I have lighted on such a cross-grain’d Fellow, that I cannot get one Word out of him.

Smith. Why, my Lord ? You gave me Order that I should keep a good Conscience, and so I will ; for I can bring two or three Witnesses, and they will justify, that I said no such Words to *Joyce* as he lays to my Charge.

Bradshaw. You bring Witnesses ! You shall find that one Witness will be enough for a Common-wealth against yours.

(Then

82 A BLACK-SMITH,

(Then he called in the Keepers of *Newgate*.)

Bradshaw. Carry this Fellow away, and bring him again next *Thursday*, and then he shall have his Reward.

[So they had me away again to Prison ; and then I sent to my Mother, to desire her if she could do me any Good, that she would do it, for on *Thursday* I did expect Death ; she went to Mr. *Hews* the Minister, and Mr. *Blisset*, two of the three before-mentioned, who wrote Letters to the Council on my Behalf. I also sent to Captain *Butler*, and his Brother Major *Butler*, they being Men whom I had been acquainted with at *Marlborough*. They spake for me, and told Col. *Berry*, who was their Colonel, what I was, that I never acted any Thing for any Government ; that I kept a great Charge from the Parish, and was well read in History ; and desired him to speak for me, which he did, and did me much Good, Then I sent to the Lord *Strickland*,

land, who proved my very good Friend ; for in speaking for me, he endangered himself. There was also one Mr. *Booth* in *Ironmonger-Lane, London*, (married to the Daughter of Master *Proffet* of *Marlborough*) who was very kind and loving to me, in visiting and relieving me when I was in the Dungeon, with Chains on my Legs, by going down to my Lord *Sidenham* and others on my Behalf ; But *Sidenham* replied, I was a dangerous Fellow, and committed for High Treason ; and therefore wished him to be careful, for Fear of bringing himself into Trouble : But he answered, “ My Lord, I do not justify
 “ him ; if he has deserved to be
 “ hanged, let him be hanged ; But
 “ pray, my Lord, let him be fairly
 “ tried ; and let him be removed out
 “ of that nasty Dungeon wherein he
 “ lies, and there shall be good Secu-
 “ rity given for his forth-coming, or
 “ to let him be removed into a more
 “ airy Prison for his Health.” Yet

84 A BLACK-SMITH,

I could never hear of any Thing *Sidenham* did for me ; for he (good Man) was perswaded I was a *Jesuit*. When Mr. *Booth* gave me this Relation, I thought I should have lost my Life, and the rather, because my Friends met with *Joyce* in *Cheapside*, and desired him to have Mercy on me ; he did say, “ That I was a Rogue to
 “ make him a Lyer ; but before he
 “ had done with me, he would have
 “ me hanged, drawn, and quartered.”

Which Friends of mine did come and acquaint me with it. So I made a Petition and sent it down to the Lord *Fleetwood* ; and when he read it, he did much detest the bloody Actions of *Joyce*, and his Crew : So he went to the Council, and told them it would be a Disgrace to their Government to hearken to such a bloody Fellow as *Joyce* and the rest of his Crew were ; so they gave him a favourable Answer : Next Night came Major *Goff* of *Marlborough*, who knew *Joyce*'s Actions, and what bloody
 Designs

Designs he went upon, so that he went down to the Lord *Fleetwood*, and told him, "It was a Scandal to Religion to uphold such a bloody Person as *Joyce* was ; for he knew that I never acted any Thing against them." The next Day, being *Thursday*, I was had down again, where was *Bradshaw*, Col. *Morley*, and one more.)

Bradshaw. Have you lighted upon any *Trapan* in *Newgate* ?

[Upon which Words I was at a Sand, fearing some had informed against me ; for there were many such in that Place.]

Bradshaw. Why do you not answer ?

Smith My Lord, *Newgate* is prepared for such Persons ; and I wonder, my Lord, *Joyce* has not been sent thither all this Time. [At which some of them smiled, which made me rejoyce.]

Bradshaw. Come, we are willing to shew you Mercy.

I

Smith.

86 A BLACK-SMITH,

Smith. Are you so, my Lord? Then *blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain Mercy*, it is Christ's own Sermon, my Lord.

Bradshaw. Well, we see you are but ill-beloved in the Country where you live; for there are but few Friends to speak for you in this your Time of Adversity.

Smith. I am as ill-beloved in the Country, as you are, my Lord.

Bradshaw. Upon the same Account as I am!

Smith. I do not know that, my Lord; it is for being faithful to the Common-wealth. (At which the Council fell a laughing.)

Bradshaw. I believe that I am beloved ill enough, thou sayst right in that: Come what Security hast? For thou must be bound in a Bond of two hundred Pounds.

Smith. No less, my Lord! I was never worth so much in my Life.

Bradshaw. What Security hast thou?

Smith.

Smith. If you will have two substantial Men, there is the Lord *Strickland*, and another Lord.

Bradshaw. What no meaner Persons ! it seems you are beloved, my merry Blade : Two meaner Persons shall serve.

Smith. Then there is a Major, and a Captain, my Lord.

Bradshaw. Meaner Persons than they will serve.

Smith. Then here is a Cook, and a Coachman, my Lord.

(Then he spoke to the Clerk, who proved my good Friend.)

Bradshaw. What is this Cook ?

Clerk. A very honest Man, my Lord, he lives but at *Charing-cross*.

Bradshaw. Let him be one then ; what's the Name of the other ?

Smith. I shall desire to speak with him first, my Lord.

Bradshaw. Take the Cook now while he is here, and let him go on his Parole till he brings the other.

I 2 *Clerk.*

88 A BLACK-SMITH,

Clerk. Yes, my Lord.

Smith. Pray, my Lord, as you say you are merciful to me, I desire it may extend a little farther.

Bradshaw. What is that you would have?

Smith. I would have my Fees abated, my Lord; for I am but a poor Black-Smith, and have nothing but what I earn by the Sweat of my Brows, and I have paid much Money already.

Bradshaw. If you will not pay your Fees which are due to the Keepers, you must lye there and rot for me; you may thank God we give you your Liberty.

Smith. If it must be so, my Lord, I cannot help it.

(So when the Cook had signed the Bond, who was my very good Friend in my Extremity, whom I am ever bound to pray for.)

Doorkeeper. Come, Smith, you must come in.

Smith. Yes, I am coming.

Brad.

and no JESUIT. 89

Bradshaw. Come, you must take the Engagement.

Smith. What is that, my Lord? I never took any.

Bradshaw. If you mean to have your Liberty, you must take one now.

Smith. Pray let me hear what it is, my Lord, first, because I shall make Conscience of what I take.

Bradshaw. You shall. The Clerk shall read the Engagement: You shall be true and faithful to the Commonwealth of England, as it is now established, without King, single Person, or House of Lords; And you shall be ready upon all Summons that shall be sent from the Parliament, or Council of State, to make your personal Appearance before them: And you shall not Act, or encourage any one to Act against this Government.

Bradshaw. What say you to this, Smith?

Smith. I conceive, my Lord, that the Meaning of the Words, is, that

98 A BLACK-SMITH,

I must be true and faithful to you as long as you are our Governors; and so I do not act against you, it matters not who do: I shall be very faithful, my Lord.

Bradshaw. I wish you be.

Smith. My Lord, you may know the Tree by its Fruits, and me by my Actions.

[Then the Keepers had me away again to *Newgate*, till I had paid my Fees. I sent to some Friends, and borrowed the Money; so I paid them their Due, as they said, which was a Shilling for the Coach to *Whitehall*, and a Shilling to the Keeper for going with me, and a Shilling up again; and three Shillings and Six-pence a Week for my Lodging, with many other such like unreasonable Prizes, that it cost me eleven Pounds in all, altho' I had great Relief from my Friends in City and Country. Then I went to the Coachman for him also to engage for me, whose name was *Edmund Poynes*, who went along with me

me, and signed the Bond; and as we were coming from the Council [we met with Cornet *Smale*.]

Smale. What are you at Liberty? If you are at Liberty, and will not bring in these Persons whom you have peached, it will make all the faithful Friends of the Parliament forsake them.

Smith. It is you who have peached them Sir, not I; it would be happy for the Parliament, if they were freed from such Servants as you are.

[Away I went from them.]

[Now, *Christian* Reader, thou mayst find what Persons these have been, by this true Relation, from first to last: Then I went home in 'Squire *Rick*'s Coach of *Sunning*, who was my very good Friend; and when I came home, there I heard what *Joyce* and his Crew had done when I was in Prison; First they went to the High Sheriff, and *Joyce* asked him why he had not raised his Troop. He answered,

Because

92 A BLACK-SMITH,

Because he had no Order. But said *Joyce*, I have then : And shew'd his Order ; (But his Commission was out seven or eight Days before he came there,) so that the Sheriff escap'd the Snare. Then *Smale* went to the Sheriff, and told him that I had peach'd him of great Crimes, and wished him to send for *Joyce* ; for he was very sorry he should be brought into Trouble, *Joab*-like, pretending Love, yet meaning to murder him. Then *Joyce* played up-on Mr. *Rashly*, and desired him to drink the King's Health, for he had lost all for being for the King ; but his Wife knowing him, he by that Means escap'd the Snare ; Then they went to Mr. *West*, Minister of *Ogbourn*, and said, if he would do any Good for the King, this was his Time, for they were his Agents ; But, by God's Providence that good Man escap'd the Snare ; Next they went to Mr. *Hunt* of *Wick*, by *Marlborough*, and said, they were Farmers,

Farmers, knowing him to be for the King, and suffering much for him; They played upon him; but he escaped the Snare. Then *Tynne* came from the *Angel* to the *Hart*, and pretended himself to be for the Parliament, and I think he was for the Devil: *Joyce* pretended to be for the King; so *Tynne* took *Joyce* Prisoner, and *Joyce* cried out he was undone, for the *Round-head* had taken him Prisoner; and desired the Servants to rescue him from them, but the Servants, by God's Providence, did not: But the Chamberlain told *Tynne*, if he would lye with *Joyce*, he would make a Bed for them together, but *Tynne* said, *Joyce* look'd like an honest Man, therefore he would trust him to lye by himself; for he did believe he would be forth-coming. But to reveal all their Actions would be too long. After I came from *London*, down came that bloody Villain *Smale*, who laboured so hard to have me murdered, because I would not bring
these

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these Noblemen into Trouble; he came to the *White Hart*, and told Mr. *Rashly*, that I had peach'd him and Captain *Burgess* of great Crimes at the Council; but the Clerk being a Friend of his, he caused him to strike out their Names, when he himself did all he could to bring them into Trouble, and threatened me I should be hang'd, if I did not bring them in; and all this did he, because they should not mistrust him that he had any Hand in the bringing them in, and *Judas-like*, pretending to love them, yet endeavoured to betray them, in setting down what they pleased, and bringing me to swear that all was true, to carry on a fair Shew among Men, as if they were innocent and bore them no Ill; and when they came to *London*, they must be believed and not I; if I had twenty Witnesses, it must go against me. And if this be the *Good Old Cause*, for which the *Rump* have cried out so, to bring so much innocent Blood

on

on the Nation, when there has been so much spill'd already, I must say, with the *Litany*, Good Lord deliver us from such Men.

Thus I have made known, according to my weak Ability, what Misery I have gone thro', and what ado I had to keep a good Conscience among them who did long for Blood. If God had not been with me, I had never been able to escape with Life: For *Joyce* would have sworn thro' an Inch-Board (as the Proverb is) but he would have brought these Noblemen to Ruin, and then we should have had a Thanksgiving-Day throughout the Nation for Joy, as if God was the Author of their bloody and traitorous Actions; and *Joyce* might damn his Soul by Lying, because he was for a Common-wealth, but I must not, which was my Happiness. Let all the World judge what they were. Now, *Christian* Reader, as God has been pleased, in much Mercy, to look down upon these three poor Nations,

96 A BLACK-SMITH,
tions, and to bring us under that
ancient Form of Government, of
Kings, Lords, and Commons: Let
us seek unto him by Prayer for a
Blessing on our Gracious Sovereign
Lord, King *Charles* the *Second*,
and submit to, and obey him, which
is our Duty, and then we shall have
Hopes of being settled in Peace, after
so many Years Distraction. And
now, *Christian* Reader, I have shew-
ed thee how *Joyce* and the rest endea-
voured to ruin very many of the No-
bility and Gentry in this Nation, as
afore-mentioned, by their false Infor-
mations to gain their Estates; and
how they appeared like Angels, when
indeed they were no better than De-
vils, as you may see by their *Catechism*
and *Creed*, which is here in this Nar-
rative made known. And I have
made known too what Persons they
were, and how these Villains worked
upon me at first, and their Actions
to the last; yet by the Providence of
God, I was delivered from them, and
kept

and no JESUIT. 97

kept a good Conscience, which is my Comfort ; Therefore from such bloody Men, God keep all good People ; which is, and shall be the daily Prayer of him who is,

Thine to serve thee

WILLIAM HOULBROOK.

To God be all the Glory, Amen.

POSTSCRIPT.

AND now, *Christian* Reader, you have heard by the foregoing Narrative some of their ungodly Practices, and what a perfidious People we had then raging among us, called a *Rump*, and what it was to be without a King : And if you do but read the 18th *Chapter* and the First *Vers*e of *Judges*, and
K the

98 A BLACK-SMITH,

the 21st *Chapter* and the last *Verse*,
you may see in what Condition the
People were in those Days, as well
as we in the *Rumpish* Times: And
that thou may'st see them more clearly
in their Colours, I will here set down
some of their ungodly Principles, also
what may not unfitly be termed their
Catechism, or the *Rump's Creed*; not
intending thereby in the least to pro-
fane Holy Things, but only express
their Villany in its proper Colours,
whose Godliness was Gain, and their
Religion was Hypocrisy, being chiefly
owned and countenanced by them:

For they did pretend the *Good*
Old Cause,

Which was to bring us into the
Devil's Paws,

And to destroy the fundamental
Laws.

If you will but follow the *Rump's*
Creed,

You will ride to *Lucifer* with Speed.

A. *What is your Name?*

B. Red-Coat.

A. *Who*

and no JESUIT. 99

A. *Who gave you that Name?*

B. My Odd-Fathers and Odd-Mothers.

A. *Well; who are they?*

B. They are several; as Necessity Idleness, Rapine, Theft, Principally, the Devil and the Rump.

A. *What did these thy Odd-Fathers and thy Odd Mothers promise for thee?*

B. Three Things for me, and in my Name: first, that I should forsake God and all Things that are good, or consonant either to Law or Gospel: Secondly, That I should obey all their unjust Commands: Thirdly, that I should keep them unto my Life's End.

A. *Dost thou think that thou art bound to obey, and do what they have promised for thee?*

B. Yes, verily, by the Help of Bradshaw, and the rest of that wicked Crew, and the Devil, we hope we shall keep them unto our Life's End.

K 2

A. Re-

100 A BLACK-SMITH,

A. *Rehearse the Articles of thy Belief.*

B. I believe in the mighty Power of a Rebelious Faction, Fanatic Conventicles, and the Council of State. And I believe in my good Parliament, which was turn'd out by *Oliver's* Power, and sent packing to *Hell* : At last they came and sat again at the right Hand of that rebellious Party ; who having undone Thousands of honest Citizens, were justly infatuated, to recal these Furies to be once more their Masters, and take Vengeance upon them for their former Misdemeanors.

I do believe in the Resurrection of the *Bonny Old Cause*, and the bringing them all unto their just Punishment, according to their Deserts, and therein to keep them unto my Life's End. *Amen.*

A. *What dost thou learn out of this thy Belief ?*

B. Three Things.

A. *Name them.*

B. I

and no JESUIT. 101

B. I learn to believe in my good Parliament, who have made me and all my good Brethren, by the Ruins of most of the Nobility, the honest Clergy and Gentry of the Land. Secondly, In the Power of the Sword, which hath brought our *Good Old Cause* out of the Jaws of the Wicked. Thirdly, In *St. John Presbyter*, and his supplanting Brother *Independency*, who have sanctified our Interest.

A. *Well, thou tell'st me thou art bound to obey all the Parliaments Commandments ; pray tell me how many there be ?*

B. There are Ten.

A. *Name them.*

B. 1. Thou shalt have no other Governors but us.

2. Thou shalt not set up any King, nor any Person in his Likeness ; for we, your Lords and Masters, are grown furious of Ambition, that we shall sequester your Estates, and bring unto Ruin all who shall affront us in

102 *A* BLACK-SMITH,

that Nature : But if you will be contented, with your Afs-like Backs, to bear our intolerable Burdens, we shall then grace you with our fine Sugar-Plumbs, as the Kings, Bishops, Deans and Chapters Lands, and other honest Mens Estates, for the maintaining of you and your Families.

3. Thou shalt not abuse our Name with that ignominious Term of *Rump*, *Tail*, or *Fag-end* ; for we have sworn, that his Arse shall make Buttons who shall affront us in that nature.

4. Thou shalt be sure the great Day to observe, and to keep it ; and for to keep it holy, while we, your Lords and Masters, do sit to make those illegal Laws, as for Taxes, Excise and Contribution, for the enriching us and the *Good Old Cause* ; but for your other Days, you may follow your usual Employments, Rapine Plunder, and the like, that by the Means thereof you may stand the faster unto us, for to support us in our unlawful Actions.

5. Thou

5. Thou shalt be sure to honour us, and for to have an awful Dread in thy Mind, that thou may'st not be in Fear of Cashiering or Disbanding.

6. Thou shalt be sure for to commit what Murder and Slaughter we shall think fit.

7. Thou shalt be sure to ly with the Citizens Wives, that when thou wantest thy Pay, thou may'st gain some clean Linnen, and other good Things to keep thee sweet, and clean from Lice.

8. Thou shalt Filch and Steal any Thing thou can'st lay thy Hands on.

9. Thou shalt use thy utmost Indevour to trapan thy Neighbour, swear and forswear whatsoever we shall order thee.

10. Thou shalt covet above all Things the Plunder of the City of *London*, the Ravishing their Wives, the Knocking down their 'Prentices, and the Ruin of any of them who have any Sign or Profession of Godliness and Loyalty.

Well

104 A BLACK-SMITH,

Well done, my Friend, said *Bradshaw*, I do see no Reason but thou should'st receive Confirmation, and have the *Red Coat* upon thy Shoulders.

This (or to this Effect) was all the real Religion, (notwithstanding their sanctified Pretences) of *Cromwel* and his *Janizaries*, and those other Tyrants, who in those Days of Confusion, inflaved us, by whom this poor Nation was *Hag-ridden* some Years; but since these Locusts, by a Whirlwind of Vengeance, are now swep'd away into the bottomless Pit from whence they arose, and that the God of Mercy has graciously been pleased to restore us our King, as at the first, and our Counsellors as at the Beginning, let us all express our Thankfulness, by our chearful Obedience to our Sovereign, and mutual Love to each other; declining all those Courses of Cruelty, Rapine and Covetousness, which tempted them to such abominable

St. *Austin*. nable Villanies: An Ancient Father says, * that a covetous Man is compared to a Hog, which never does any Good till he be dead ; for all People whatever, who follow the great Sin of Covetousness, rides Post to the Devil : It is our Duty therefore to be given to Hospitality, and to be in Love one with another, and not to be so covetous, nor so malicious as they are ; for it brings God's heavy Judgments upon us ; and if all those who are covetous, envious Heretics should come unto the same End as did *Arius* at *Constantinople*, who did void his Guts out by Stool, we then should know them from others : And truly, *Christian* Reader, there is a very great Sin committed by many Women, in their wearing False Locks, and Towers, which bring many a Man to his Undoing ; for they think they have a *Brown Bay*,

*When as it is a Man's Dun,
Which makes many Men to run.*

And

106 A BLACK-SMITH,

And the fittest Place for a Cöbler to set up Shop in, is a Whore's Arse; for there are Brisles, Water and Wax; half his Calling: And I do believe never any poor Black-Smith has been so abused by *Rumpish* Rogues and Whores as I have been, and by those, who if our Gracious King had not pardoned them, they had been all hanged, as *R. B.* knows very well. And altho' a poor Black-Smith is counted but a dirty Trade, yet if you look into the 13th *Chapter* of the *First Book* of *Samuel*, and the 19th *Verse*, you will see in what a sad Condition poor *Israel* was in, for Want of the Black-Smiths. Therefore pray regard, and have respect to the Black-Smiths, while you have them among you, lest we be taken from you. Tho' I must confess that I have been under a Cloud by being persecuted by the *Ill Rumpers*, and do still suffer, for they seek to ruin me every Hour; yet if *God be with us, who can be against us.* For I do
not

not question but Loyalty shall triumph over Villany, and Honesty over Knavery, and that I shall be redressed for all my Wrongs, and Sufferings by those ill Vermin; for it is well known, that such as are not true Lovers of their King, will never be true Lovers of his loyal Subjects; as witness also the too, too many other good *Christian* Subjects, which have formerly been so cruelly used, and barbarously murdered by them for their Loyalty.

So humbly desiring, the *Christian* Reader to join with me in Prayer, for the long Life and Prosperity of all his good Subjects, and the utter confounding of all his Enemies, that we may live in all Godliness and Quietness, shall be the daily Prayer of

WILLIAM HOULBROOK.

108 A BLACK-SMITH,

The Black-Smith of *Marl-*
borough's S O N G.

THE first Song of Music that ever was made,
Was by *Tubal* of the Black-Smith's Trade,
With Hammer and Strokes while on he laid ;
Which no body can deny,
Which no body can deny.

How can Ships on the Ocean fail,
If Anchor prove naught, and do not prevail ;
With the Iron Bars in every Jail,
Which no body can deny, &c.

How can the Shoemaker work at all,
But first the Smith must make his Aul,
With Cutting Knife for every Stall ?
Which no body can deny, &c.

How can the Post-Horses carry News,
But first the Smith puts on the Shoes,
With Spurs and Stirrop for Rider's Use ?
Which no body can deny, &c.

And if a Taylor is troubl'd with the Itch,
The Black-Smith's Water, black as Pitch,
Will make his Fingers go thro' Stitch ;
Which no body can deny, &c.

How

and no JESUIT. 109

How can they go to Plow or Cart,
But first the Smith must play his Part,
His Coulters and Shairs made well by Art.
Which no body can deny, &c.

Your Patten-Irons, great and small,
'To carry Women strait and tall ;
And keep them out of th' Dirt withal,
Which no body can deny, &c.

The Cooper's Addice, the Brewer's Slings,
And th' Halter-makers pretty Things,
To hang up Rebels in Hempen Strings.
Which no body can deny, &c.

And in your Houses pretty Knacks,
Your Clocks, Trevets, Gridirons, Jacks,
With other Things the Housewife lacks.
Which no body can deny, &c.

A Black Smith, Oh ! 'twas his hard Fate,
To be carry'd Pris'ner to *Newgate*,
For *Bradshaw* had a Pocky Pate ;
Which no body can deny, &c.

Oh ! what Trade, Oh ! what can you name,
But first the Smith supplies the same,
For he's the Honour of the Game.
Which no body can deny, &c.

L A S O N G

110 A BLACK-SMITH,

A SONG on the Author.

WILLIAM HOULBROOK is my Name,
For Loyalty I suffer'd Shame,
For which the *Rump* was much to blame.
Which no body can deny, &c.

To be a Pris'ner was my Fate,
In the dark Dungeon of *Newgate*,
For bloody *Bradshaw* did me hate,
Which no body can deny, &c.

For in *July*, in Fifty-Nine,
I most dearly pay'd my Fine,
The *Rump* from Goodness did decline ;
Which no body can deny, &c.

At last the *Rump* was well pay'd off,
Tho' of Rebellion they made a Scoff:
So I poor Black-Smith did come off.
Which no body can deny, &c.

And now I dwell in *Marlborough* Town,
For all my Wrongs had ne'er a Crown,
And yet I am of some Renown.
Which no body can deny, &c.

For I do make both Nails and Shoes,
And I can tell you pleasant News,
If you do act like good *True-blues* ;
Which no body can deny, &c.

Make

and no JESUIT.

III

Make use of me, be not afraid,
My Suff'rings have not me dismay'd,
Altho' by Cornet *Joyce* betray'd.
Which no body can deny, &c.

Now from my Song, I here will rest,
And pray for those who are the best;
For many Knaves have feather'd their Nest.
Which no body can deny,
Which no body can deny.

WILLIAM HOULBROOK.



L 2

The

112 A BLACK-SMITH,

The Names of those whom *Joyce*, and his bloody Crew did endeavour to ruin.

THE Right Honourable the Duke of Buckingham ; the Marquiss of Hartford ; the Lord Seymour ; the Lord Herbert of Badmington ; Sir John Glanvil ; Sir Walter St. Johns ; Colonel Popham ; William Pryn, Esq ; Mr. Proffit Minister in Marlborough ; Mr. Woodbridge of Newbury ; Mr. Web of Ogbourn ; Mr. Byfield of Collingbourn ; Mr. Chambers of Pewzy ; Mr. Fowler of Reading ; Capt. Burges of Marlborough ; Mr. Tho. Bayley ; Mr. Clarke ; Mr. Rachley ; Mr. Galloway of Wick ; Mr. Hunt of Collingbourn ; Mr. Pierce Alderman of Bath ; Capt. Harrington, near Bath ; Mr. Bond of Ogbourn ; Mr. Carter ; Mr. Parroom ; Mr. Mascoll of London ; with many other good Christians in other Parts of the Kingdom.

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S P E E C H

Made by a

Worthy Member of PARLIAMENT, in the House of Commons, *Concerning the Other House.*

March 1659.

Mr. SPEAKER,

THIS Day's Debate is but too clear a Proof that we *Englishmen* are right Islanders, Variable and Mutable like the Air we live in. For (Sir) if that were not our Temper, we should not be now disputing, Whether after all those Hazards we have run, that Blood we have spilt, that Treasure we have exhausted, we should not now sit

114 *The Speech of a*

down just where we did begin ; and of our own Accords submit ourselves to that Slavery, which we have not only ventured our Estates and Lives, but I wish I could not say, our Souls and Consciences, to throw off. What others (Sir) think of this Levity, I cannot tell, I mean those that steer their Consciences by Occasions, and cannot lose the Honour they never had : But truly (Sir) for my own Part, I dare as little not declare it to be my Opinion, as others more prudential, dare avow it to be theirs, That we are this Day making good all the Reproaches of our Enemies, owning of ourselves Oppressors, Murderers, Regicides, Subverters of that, which now we do not only acknowledge to have been a lawful Government, but by recalling it, confess it now to be the best : Which (Sir) if it be true, and that we now begin to see aright, I heartily wish, our Eyes had been sooner open ; and for three Nations Sake, that we had purchas'd
our

our Conviction. at a cheaper Rate. We might [Sir] in *Forty-two*, have been what we thus contend to be in *Fifty nine* ; and our Consciences have had much less to answer for to God, and our Reputations to the World.

But, Mr. *Speaker*, I wish with all my Soul, I did state our Case to you amiss, and that it were the Question only, Whether we would voluntarily relapse into the Disease we were formerly possessed with, and of our own Accords take up our old Yoke, that we with Wearing and Custom had made habitual and easy, and which [it may be] 'twas more our Wantonness then our Pressure, that made us throw it off ? But this [Sir] is not now the Question : That which we deliberate, is not, Whether we will say we do not care to be free, we like our old Masters, and will now be content to have our Ears bored at the Door-posts of the House, and so serve them for ever ? But [Sir] as if we were contending for Shame as well
as

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as Servitude, we are carrying our *Ears to be bored* at the Doors of *Another House* : A House, Sir, without Name ; and therefore it is but congruous it should consist of Members without Family : A House that inverts the Order of Slavery, and subjects it to our Servants ; and yet, in Contradiction to Scripture, we do not only not think that Subjection intolerable, but are now pleading for it. In a Word, Sir, It is a House of so incongruous and odious a Composition and Mixture, that certainly the grand Architect would never have so framed it, had it not been his Design as well to shew to the World *the Contempt he had of us*, as to demonstrate *the Power he had over us*.

Sir, that it may appear, that I intend not to be so prudent, (as far as my Part is concerned) as to make a voluntary Resignation of my Liberty and Honour to this excellent Part of his late Highness, his last Will and Testament, I shall crave (Sir) the
Leave

Leave to declare in a few Particulars my Opinion of this other House ; wherein I cannot but promise myself to be favourably heard by some, but patiently heard by all : For those *Englishmen* that are against this House, will certainly with Content hear the Reasons why others are so too ; those Courtiers that are for it, give me Evidence enough to think that in Nature there is nothing which they cannot willingly endure.

First, (Sir) As to the Author and Framers of this House of Peers ; Let me put you in Mind, it was He, that with reiterated Oaths, had often *sworn to be True and Faithful to the Government without it* : And not only sworn so himself, but had been the Chief Instrument both to draw and compel others to swear so too. So (Sir) that the Foundation of this noble Fabrick was laid in Perjury, and was begun with the Violation and Contempt, as well of the Laws of God, as of the Nation. He (Sir) that call'd Monarchy

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narchy *Antichristian* in another, and indeed made it so in himself: He that voted a House of Lords *dangerous and unnecessary*, and too truly made it so in his Partizans: He that with Fraud and Force deprived you of your Liberty when he was living, and entailed Slavery upon you at his Death: 'Tis he (Sir) that hath left you these worthy Overseers of that his last Will and Testament; Who, however they have behaved themselves in other Trusts, we may be confident they will endeavour faithfully to discharge themselves in this. In a word (Sir) had this Other House no other Fault but its Institution and Author, I should think that Original Sin enough for its Condemnation: For I am of their Opinion that think, that for the good of Example, all Acts and Monuments of Tyrants are to be expunged, and erased, that, if possible, their Memory might be no longer liv'd then their Carcasses. And the Truth is, their good Laws
are

are of the Number of their Snares, and but base Brokage for our Liberty.

But Sir, to impute to this other House no other Faults but its own, you may please, in the first Place, to consider of the Power which his Highness hath left it, according to that *humble Petition and Advice*, which he was pleased to give Order to the Parliament to present unto him. For (Sir) as the *Romans* had Kings, so had his Highness Parliaments amongst his Instruments of Slavery; And I hope (Sir) it will be no Offence for me to pray, that his Son may not have them so too. But (Sir) they have a *Negative Voice*, and all other Circumstances of that Arbitrary Power, which made the former House intolerable; only the Dignity and Quality of the Commons themselves is wanting, that our Slavery may be accompanied with Ignominy and Affront. And now (Mr. *Speaker*) have we not gloriously vindicated the Nation's Liberty? Have we not worthily imployed our Blood
and

Treasure to abolish that Power that was set over us by the Law, to have the same impos'd upon us without a Law? And after all that Sound and Noise we have made in the World, of the Peoples Legislative Power, and of the Supremacy and Omnipotency of their Representatives, we now see there is no more Power left them, but what is put in the Ballance, and equal'd by the Power of a few Retainers of Tyranny, who are so far from being of the People's Choice, that the most Part of them are only known to the Nation by the Villanies and Mischiefs they have committed in it.

In the next place (Sir) you may please to consider, that the Persons invested with this Power, are all of them nominated and designed by the Lord Protector (for to say, *by him and his Council*, hath in Effect no more Distinction, than if one should say, *by Oliver and Cromwel.*) By this Means, the Protector himself, by his own and his Peers Negative, becomes
in

in effect two of the three Estates ; and by Consequence, is possess'd of two Parts of the Legislative Power. I think this can be a Doubt to no Man, that will but take the Pains to read over that fair Catalogue of those noble Lords : for certainly no Man that reads their Names, can possibly fancy for what other Virtues or good Qualities such a Composition should be made Choice of, but only the Certainty of their Compliance with whatsoever should be enjoin'd them by their *Creator*. (Pardon Sir that Name, for 'tis properly applicable, where Things are made of nothing.) Now (Sir) if in the former Government, Increase of Nobility was a Grievance, because the new Nobility, having fresh Obligation to the Crown, were the easilier led to Compliance with it : And if one of the main Reasons for Exclusion of the Bishops out of the House of Lords, was because that they being of the Kings making, were in effect so many certain Votes

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for

for whatever the King had a mind to carry in that House: How much more assured will that Inconvenience now be, when the Protector, that wants nothing of the King, but in every Sence the Title, shall not only make and nominate a Part, but of himself constitute the whole House? In a Word (Sir) if our Liberty was endangered by the former House, we may give it lost in the other House; And 'tis in all Respects as advantageous and secure for the Liberty of the Nation, which we come hither to redeem, to allow this Power and Notion to his Highnesses Officers, or Council, nay his very Chaplains, as to his other Creatures and Partisans in his other House.

Now having considered (Sir) their Author, Power, and Constitution, give me Leave to make some few Observations, though but in general, of the Persons themselves that are designed to be our Lords and Masters, and let us see what either the extraordinary

dinary Quality or Qualifications are of these egregious Legislators, which may justify their Choice, and prevail with the People to admit them, at least, into equal Authority with the whole representative Body of themselves. But what I shall speak (Sir) of their Quality, or any thing else concerning them, I mostly thought to speak with Distinction, and to intend only of the major Part : For I acknowledge, Mr. *Speaker*, the Mixture of this other House to be like the Compositions of Apothecaries, who are us'd to mix something of Relish, something grateful to the Taste, to qualify their bitter Drugs, which else, perchance, would be immediately spit out, and never swallowed. So (Sir) His Highness, of deplorable Memory to this Nation, to countenance as well the Want of Quality as Honesty in the rest, hath nominated some, against whom there lies no other Reproach, but only that Nomination ; but not (Sir) out of any Re-

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spect to their Qualities, or Regard to their Virtues, but with Regard to the no Quality, to the no Virtues of the rest : Which truly (*Mr. Speaker*) if he had not done, we could easily have given a more express Name to his other House, than he hath been pleas'd to do. For we know a House design'd only for Beggars and Malefactors, is a *House of Correction*, and term'd so by your Law. But [*Mr. Speaker*] setting those few Persons aside, who I hope think the Nomination a Disgrace, and the ever coming to sit there, much a greater : Can we without Indignation think on the Rest ? He that's first in their Roll, a condemn'd Coward, one that out of Fear and Baseness did once what he could to betray your Liberties, and does now the same for gain. The second, a Person of as little Sense as Honesty, preferr'd for no other Reason but his no Worth, his no Conscience ; except that his cheating his Father of all he had, was thought a Virtue,

Virtue, by him, who by sad Experience, we find hath done as much for his Mother, as his Country. The third, a Cavalier, a Presbyterian, an Independent; for a Republick, for a Protector, for every thing, for nothing, but only that one Thing, *Money*. 'Twere endless to run thro' them all, to tell you [Sir] of their Lordships of seventeen Pound Land a Year of Inheritance; of their Farmer Lordships, Dray-men Lordships, Cobler Lordships, without one Foot of Land, but what the Blood of *Englishmen* hath been the Price of; these [Sir] are to be our Rulers, these the Judges of our Lives and Fortunes; to these we are to stand bare, whilst their Pageant stage Lordships deign to give us a Conference upon their Breeches. Mr. *Speaker*, we have already had too much Experience, how unsupportable Servants are, when they become our Masters: All kind of Slavery is miserable in the Accompt of all generous Minds; but that which comes accom-

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panied with Scorn and Contempt, stirs every Man's Indignation, and is indured by none, whom Nature does not intend for Slaves, as well as Fortune.

I say not this [*Mr. Speaker*] to revile any Man with his Meanness; for I never thought either the Malignity or Indulgence of Fortune, to be [with wise or just Men] the Grounds either of their ill or their good Opinion. *Mr. Speaker*, I blame not in these Men the Faults of their Fortune, any otherwise but as they make them their own: I object to you their Poverty, because it is accompanied with Ambition; I mind you of their Quality, because they themselves forget it. So that 'tis not the Men I am angry with, but with their Lordships; not with *Mr. Barkstead*, or *Mr. Goaler* (Title I could well allow him) but with *The Right Honourable, our singular good Lord and Goaler*: 'Tis this Incongruity (*Mr. Speaker*) I am displeased with.

So

So (Sir) that though we easily grant Poverty and Necessity to be no Faults, yet we must allow them to be great Impediments in the Way of Honour, and such as nothing but extraordinary Virtue and Merit can well remove. The Scripture reckons it among *Jeroboams* great Faults, that *he made Priests of the meanest of the People*; and sure it was none of the Virtues of our *Jeroboam* (who hath set up his Calves to, and would have our Tribes come up and Worship them) that he observed the same Method, in making of Lords.

One of the few Requests the *Portugals* made to *Philip* the Second of *Spain*, when he got that Kingdom (as his late Highness did this) by an Army, was, *That he would not make Nobility contemptible, by advancing such to that Degree, whose Quality or Virtue could be no way thought to deserve it.* Nor have we formerly been less apprehensive of such inconveniencies ourselves; it was in *Rich. I.*
Time,

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Time, one of the Bishop of *Ely*'s Accusations, that Castles and Forts of Trust he did *Obscuris & ignotis hominibus tradere*, put in the Hands of obscure and unknown Men : But we (Mr. *Speaker*) to such a Kind of Men are delivering up the Power of our Laws, and in that the Power of All.

In the 17th *Edw. IV.* There past an Act of Parliament, for the degrading of *John Nevil*, Marquess *Mountague* and Duke of *Bedford* ; the Reason express'd in the Act, *Because he had not a Revenue sufficient for the maintaining of that Dignity* ; to which was added, *That when Men of mean Birth are called to high Estate, and have no Livelihood to support it, it induceth Briberies, Extortions, and all Kinds of Injustices that are followed by Gain.* And in the Parliament of *Carol. II.* the Peers in a Petition against *Scotish* and *Irish* Titles told the King, *That 'tis a Novelty without President, That Men should possess Honours where they possess nothing else ;*
and

and that they should have a Vote in Parliament, where they have not a Foot of Land. But if it had been added, Sir, *Or have no Land but what is the purchase of their Villanies,* against how many of our new Peers had this been an important Objection? To conclude, (Sir) It hath been a very just and reasonable Care, amongst all Nations, not to render that despis'd and contemptible to the People, which is design'd for their Reverence, and their Awe: Which, (Sir) bare an empty Title, without Quality or Virtue, never procured any Man, any more than the Image in the Fable made the Afs adored that carried it.

After their Quality, give me Leave Sir, to speak a Word or two of their Qualifications; which certainly ought in Reason to carry some Proportion with the Employments they design themselves. The House of Lords Sir, are our Kings Hereditary great Councils: They are the Highest Court of Judicature; they have their

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Part in judging and determining of the Reasons of making new Laws, and of abrogating old : From amongst them we take our great Officers of State ; they are commonly our Generals at Land, and our Admirals at Sea : In Conclusion, Sir, they are both of the Essence and Constitution of our old Government ; and have besides, the greatest and noblest Share in the Administration. Now certainly, Sir, to judge according to the Dictates of Reason, one would imagine some small Faculties and Endowments to be necessary for the discharging of such a Calling ; and those such as are not usually acquired in Shops and Ware-Houses, nor found by following the Plough : Now what other Academies most of their Lordships have been bred in, but their Shops ; what other Arts they have been versed in, but those which more require good Arms and good Shoulders, than good Heads, I think [Mr. Speaker] we are yet to be informed.

Sir,

Sir, we commit not the Education of our Children to ignorant and illiterate Masters ; Nay, we trust not our very Horses to unskilful Grooms : I beseech you (Sir) let us think it belongs to us to have some Care into whose Hands we commit the Management of the Commonwealth : And if we cannot have Persons of Birth and Fortune to be our Rulers, to whose Quality we would willingly submit ; I beseech you, Sir, for our Credits and Safeties-sake, let us seek Men (at least) of Parts and Education, to whose Abilities we may have some Reason to give way, If, Sir, a Patient dies under a Physicians Hand, the Law esteems that not a Felony, but a Misfortune in the Physician ; but if one that is no Physician undertakes the Management of a Cure, and the Party miscarries ; the Law makes the Emperique a Felon, and sure in all Mens Opinion the Patient a Fool. To conclude, Sir, for great Men to govern 'tis ordinary ; for able Men
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'tis natural ; Knaves many times come to it by Force and Necessity, and Fools sometimes by Chance : But universal Choice and Election of Fools and Knaves for Government, was never yet made by any who were not themselves like those they chose.

But methinks (Mr. *Speaker*) I see ready to rise after me, some Gentleman that shall tell you the great Services that their new Lordships have done the Commonwealth ; that shall extol their Valour, their Godliness, their Fidelity to the Cause ; The Scripture too (no doubt) as 'tis to all Purposes, shall be brought in to argue for them ; and we shall hear of the *Wisdom of the poor Man that saved the City*, of the *not many wise, not many mighty* ; Attributes I can no way deny to be due to their Lordships. Mr. *Speaker*, I shall be as forward as any Man to declare their Services, and acknowledge them ; though I might tell you, that the same Honour is not purchased by the
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Blood of an Enemy, and of a Citizen; that for Victories in civil Wars, till our Armies march through the City, I have not read that the Conquerors have been so void of Shame as to triumph. *Cæsar*, not much more indulgent to his Country, than our late Protector, did not so much as write publick Letters of his Victory at *Pharsalia*, much less had Days of Thanksgiving to his Gods, and anniversary Feasts for having been a prosperous Rebel, and given Justice and his Country the worst.

But Sir, I leave this Argument, and to be as good as my Word, come to put you in Mind of some of their Services, and the Obligation you owe them for the same. To speak nothing Sir, of one of my Lords Commissioners Valour at *Bristol*, nor of another noble Lord's brave Adventure at the Bear-Garden; I must tell you Sir, that most of them have had the Courage to do Things, which (I may boldly say) few other *Christians* durst

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have so adventured their Souls to have attempted : They have not only subdued their Enemies, but their Masters, that raised and maintained them ; they have not only conquered *Scotland* and *Ireland*, but rebellious *England* too ; and there suppress a malignant Party of Magistrates and Laws. And that nothing should be wanting to make them indeed compleat Conquerors, (without the Help of Philosophy) they have even conquered themselves. All Shame they have subdued, as perfectly as all Justice; the Oathes they have taken, they have as easily digested, as their old General could himself ; publick Covenants and Engagements, they have trampled under Foot : In Conclusion, so intire a Victory they have over themselves, that their Consciences are as much their Servants, as (*Mr. Speaker*) we are. But, Sir, give me Leave to conclude with that which is more admirable than all this, and shews the Confidence they have of themselves
and

and us : After having many Times trampled on the Authority of the House of Commons, and no less than five Times dissolv'd them, They hope for those good Services to the House of Commons, by the House of Commons to be made a House of Lords.

I have been over-long, Sir, for which I crave your Pardon ; therefore in a Word I conclude. I beseech you let us think it our Duty to have a Care of two Things : First, That Villanies be not encourag'd with the Rewards of Virtue : Secondly, That the Authority and Majesty of the Government of this Nation be not defiled, and exposed to Contempt, by committing so considerable a Part of it to Persons of as mean Quality as Parts.

The *Thebans* did not admit Merchants into Government, till they had left their Traffick ten Years ; sure it would have been long before Coblers and Draymen would have been allowed. If Sir, the Wisdom of this House

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shall find it necessary to begin where we left, and shall think we have been hitherto like the Prodigal, and that now when our Necessities perswade us (*i. e.*) that we are almost brought to herd it with Swine, now 'tis high Time to think of a Return; Let us without more ado, without this motley Mixture, even take our *Rulers as at the first*, so that we can be but reasonably secured to avoid our *Counselors as at the Beginning*.

Give me Leave Sir, to release your Patience with a short Story, *Livy* tells us, There was a State in *Italy*, an Aristocracy, where the Nobility stretch'd their Prerogative too high, and presumed a little too much upon the People's Liberty and Patience; whereupon the Discontents were so general and so great, that they apparently tended to a Dissolution of Government, and the turning of all Things into Anarchy and Confusion. At the same Time, besides these Distempers at home, there was a potent
Enemy

Enemy ready to fall upon them from abroad, that had been an over-match for them at their best Union, but now in these Disorders, was like to find them very ready and very easy Prey : A wise Man Sir, in the City, that did not at all approve of the Insolency of the Nobility, and as little liked popular Tumults, bethought himself of this Stratagem, to couzen his Country into Safety. Upon a Pretence of Counsel, he procured the Nobility to meet all together ; which when they had done, he found a Way to lock all the Doors upon them ; goes away himself, and takes the Keys with him : Then immediately he summons the People ; tells them, that by a Contrivance of his, he had taken all the Nobility in a Trap ; That now was the Time for them to be revenged upon them for all their Insolencies ; That therefore they should immediately go along with him and dispatch them. Sir, the Officers of our Army after a Fast, could not be more ready

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ready for the Villany, than this People were ; And accordingly they made as much haste to the Slaughter as their Lord Protector could desire them. But Sir, this wise Man I told you of, was their Lord Protector indeed : As soon as he had brought the People where the Parliament was sitting, and when they had expected the Word to fall to the Butchery, and take their Heads ; *Gentlemen, says he, Though I would not care how soon this Work of Reformation were over ; yet in this Ship of the Commonwealth we must not throw the Steers-Men over-board, till we have provided others for the Helm ; Let us consider before we take these Men away, in what other Hands we may more securely trust our Liberty, and the Management of the Commonwealth.* And so he advis'd them before the putting down of the Former, to bethink themselves of constituting an Other House : He begins and nominates one, a Man highly cryed up in the popular Faction,

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tion, a confiding Man, one of much Zeal, little Senſe and no Quality; you may ſuppoſe him, Sir, a zealous Cobler: The People in Concluſion murmured at this, and were loath their Fellow-Mutineer, for no other Virtue but Mutining, ſhould come to be advanced to be their Maſter, and by their Looks and Murmurs, ſufficiently expreſt the Diſtaſte they took at ſuch a Motion. Then he nominates another as mean a Mechanick as the former; you may imagine him, Sir, a buſtling rude Drayman, or the like: He was no ſooner named, but ſome burſt out a Laughing, others grew angry and railed at him, and all deteſted and ſcorn'd him. Upon this a third was named for a Lordſhip one of the ſame Batch, and every Way ſit to ſit with the other two. The People then fell into a confuſed Laugh and Noiſe, and enquired if ſuch were Lords, who (by all the Gods) would be content to be the Commons?

Sir, Let me be bold (by the good Leave of the Other Houſe and yours) to
ask

ask the same Question? But, Sir, to conclude this Story, and with it I hope the Other House: When this wise Man I told you of, perceived they were now sensible of the Inconvenience and Mischief they were running into, and saw that the pulling down their Rulers, would prove in the End, but the setting up of their Servants; he thought them then prepar'd to hear Reason; and told them, *You see, saith he, That as bad as this Government is, we cannot for any thing I see, agree upon a better: What then, if after this Fright we have put our Nobility in, and the Demonstration we have given them of our Power, we try them once more, whether they will mend, and for the future behave themselves with more Moderation?* That People (Mr. Speaker) were so wise as to comply with that wise Proposition, and to think it easier to mend their old Rulers, than to make New. And I wish (Mr. Speaker) we may be so wise to think so too.

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